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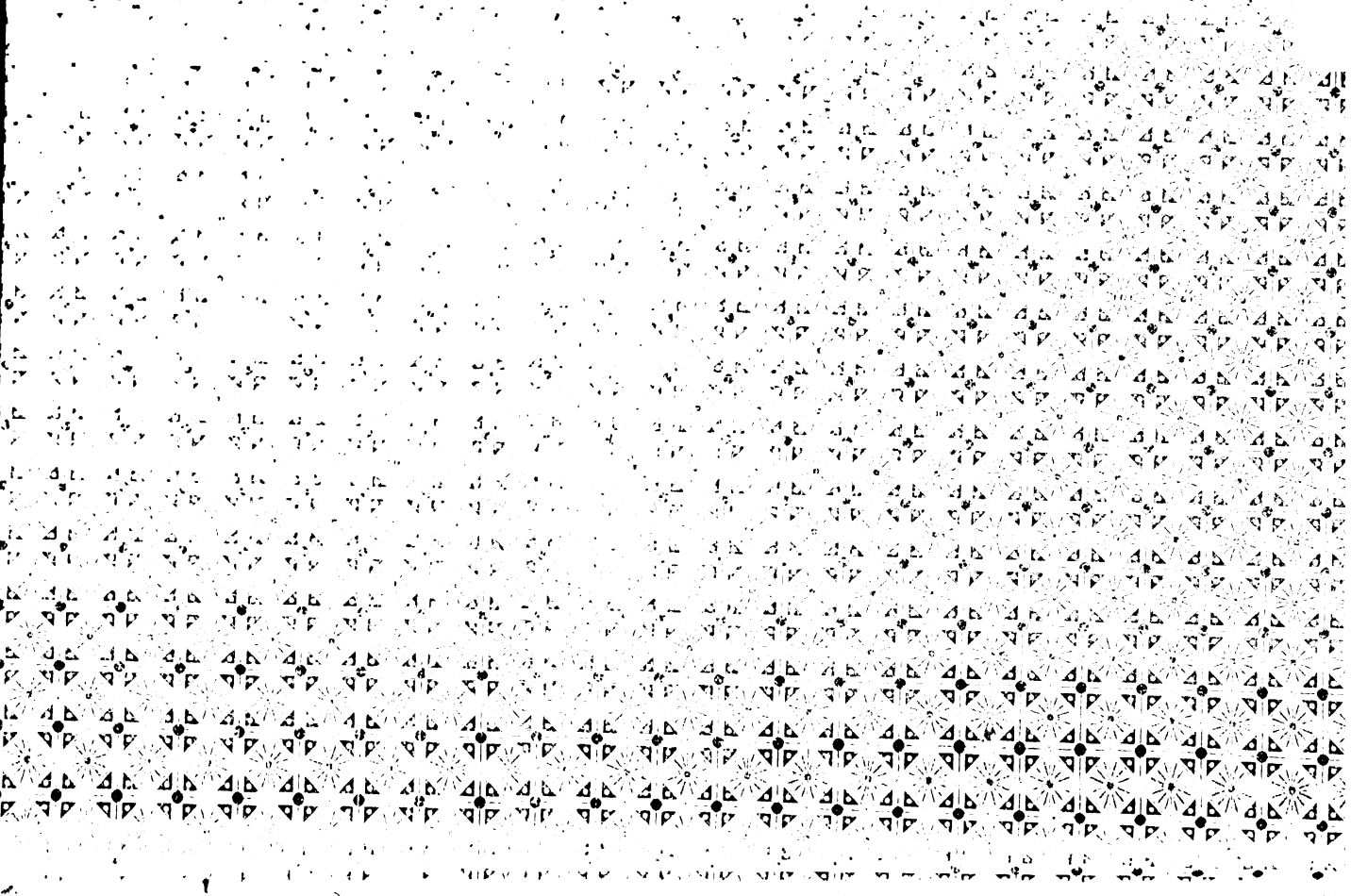

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

Annual Theological Review.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

BY

THE PROFESSORS

OF

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

VOL. II.

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PREFACE.

THE undersigned published a year ago the first volume of CURRENT DISCUSSIONS. The plan of the work was finally formed when it was too late to secure the co-operation of all the members of the Faculty. This year we are happy to add contributions from our colleagues, thus representing the main departments of theological study, which appear in the order now usually followed in such a course.

The aim of this publication is to furnish an annual digest of theological thought and investigation. This aim does not involve an exhaustive, or complete discussion of the topics mentioned. It does not so much attempt to settle the questions at issue as to state what they are, yet it is hoped that useful hints may be found in aid of their solution. More than this could not wisely be undertaken. It is believed, however, that an annual publication of this character will be increas-

ingly valued in an age, when it is more than ever impossible to pursue the different departments of theological study in detail, but when it is none the less desirable that ministers and theological students should have in compact form a general view of the various fields of theological enquiry, for present information and future reference.

In such a survey it is not considered necessary to refer to all the treatises relating to the different topics under discussion, but to the most important; and it is deemed better to point out the various tendencies of scientific theology, than the particular opinions of individual thinkers.

GEORGE NYE BOARDMAN,
SAMUEL IVES CURTISS,
HUGH M. SCOTT.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
CHICAGO, APRIL 12, 1884.

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EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

PRESENT STATE
OF
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

HISTORY OF ISRAEL

BY

REV. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS,

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS, CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

PREFATORY.

The following treatise is a continuation of the work laid out last year in the first volume of Current Discussions in Theology. The object there stated is to furnish an introduction to future special discussions of the literature pertaining to Old Testament exegesis, introduction, history and theology. In the first volume we gave a brief sketch of the present state of Old Testament studies in exegesis and introduction; in this we have confined ourselves to the field of Old Testament history, or rather, history of Israel, leaving that of Old Testament theology for the next volume. The reason for this course is, that many would not be in a position to understand the bearing of the views proposed in the new literature of these subjects without such preliminary essays. Our treatment of the history of Israel is limited, by this end, to a presentation of the views of the critics, so far as they differ from those commonly received; and, at the same time, to indicate some considerations which may be urged against these views. We have, therefore, simply traced the controverted questions in the history of Israel,

from the call of Abraham to the time of the Judges, but have not deemed it necessary to give a complete or connected view of the whole period.

It may seem to some that our discussion is overloaded with notes and references. There are two reasons for this. It was thought best to give a more popular discussion of the subject for the general reader, and to furnish the means to the scholar of verifying the accuracy of the statements made. Only the best works have been cited, as known to the author, on a given subject, and these have in most cases been carefully examined by him. Those who have wasted hours in trying to verify references, which were abbreviated beyond recognition, will hardly criticise a repetition of authorities which otherwise might seem needless. Although the author has spared neither pains nor expense in securing the latest literature of the subject, it is not the object of this work to make a complete catalogue of all who have written on any specific theme, but rather to quote authorities for certain views, and works less commonly known in America. German authors have been more commonly cited, because Germany produces more scientific discussion in our department. This may not always be so. Even now there is unwonted activity in this country in Old Testament studies. Several scholars have made valuable and, in some cases, original contributions to these subjects. None, however, is more enterprising, or deserves more praise, than the founder of *The American Institute of Hebrew*, Professor William R. Harper, Ph. D., of Morgan Park, who, with a

burning enthusiasm that knows no weariness, is to preside over three successive schools of Hebrew this summer, and who is the editor of the *Old Testament Student* and *Hebraica*.[1] It is to be hoped that in this country, while such studies increase, science will always be the handmaid of the Church, and that American scholarship may lead to the cross rather than away from it.

---

[1] Dr. Hermann L. Strack (b. 1848), Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, one of the most promising of the young conservative Old Testament scholars in Germany, and Dr. Paul Haupt, who has secured an enviable reputation as an Assyriologist in Germany, and who has been transplanted as Professor of the Semitic Languages to Johns Hopkins University, are associate editors with Dr. Harper.

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

INTRODUCTORY.

§ 1. *The Importance of the Subject.*

The history of Israel transcends that of any other ancient people in interest and importance. Israel is the people of salvation[1] (John iv. 22). To it was committed the written word of God (Rom. iii. 2). From it came the Messiah (Rom. ix. 5). With it are involved the destinies of the future. During the period of which we shall treat it possessed no significance in the departments of science and art, but in the domain of morals and religion it stood alone.

To-day it is the wonder of the nations. Oppressed throughout the centuries of the Christian era, the victim of tyrants, and the sport of the mob, it has sprung within the last decades in the leading countries of civilization from the cringing attitude of fear into the proud consciousness of mastership.[2]

[1] This idea is the ruling thought in Delitzsch's interesting course of university lectures entitled, *Old Testament History of Redemption*, Edinburgh and Chicago, 1881.

[2] There is hardly a question which provokes so much discussion and so greatly agitates the German mind at the present day as the Jewish. The number of pamphlets and articles which has been issued on this subject in Germany is legion. And there is no doubt that the question of the increasing influence of the Jews is a most serious one for that country, not to speak of other countries. See my article (No. viii) in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April 1884, *Recent Evangelistic Movements in Great Britain and on the Continent;* cf. Kellogg, *The Jews, or Prediction and Fulfilment*, New York, 1883, a work written from a pre-millenarian standpoint, which contains valuable statistics respecting the increasing prosperity and influence of the Jews.

If we accept the united testimony of the Old and New Testaments, we must believe that this "miracle of history" is reserved for some great purpose, that the Jews are yet to be converted, and are to become the source of the greatest blessings to the Gentiles. (Zech. xii. 10; Rom. xi. 25–27; Zech. viii. 23; Is. lxvi. 19; Rom. xi. 12, 15.)

REMARK. — Stade, who belongs to the most liberal school of theologians in Germany, gives in his history of Israel the following estimate, which I reproduce in condensed form, of the influence of this wonderful people upon the thought of the present age.[1]

This little people has secured a far greater influence upon the course of all human history than Greece and Rome. Our thinking, feeling, and activity of to-day is far more influenced by the world of thought and feeling which Israel created than by that of Greece and Rome.

This is to be explained by the fact that Israel developed a side of human existence which is of more universal significance for the race than art and science, jurisprudence and philosophy. While in Greece philosophy and science were developed from mythology, religion in Israel follows the mythological epoch. And indeed Israel's religion is to a far higher degree the coming religion of mankind than the philosophy of Greece is to be the coming philosophy. Israel was more epoch-making in the domain of religion than the Romans in the domain of the State and the Greeks in that of art and philosophy. Religion with us also, however

[1] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Berlin 1881, p. 38.

much men may close their eyes, is still an object of much more universal interest than art and science, and all the arrangements of the State.

§ 2. *The Department to which Old Testament History belongs.*

The custom has obtained among us, in the United States, of making the history of Israel simply a vestibule to Church History. And the latest arrangement in one of our oldest theological institutions is the combination of the Old and New Testament history under the head of Biblical history in one department. Both of these classifications are essentially wrong. The significance of the history of Israel cannot really be grasped or properly treated if it is made only a subdivision of Church History; and considering the number and delicacy of the critical questions which beset the departments of the Old and New Testaments, it is almost impossible to do justice to both together. Hence at German Universities, where the most scientific treatment of a subject is to be expected, none but Old Testament scholars are now considered competent to treat of Israel's history.[1]

[1] The departments of New Testament Literature and Church History have much more in common, in the studies which lie at the foundation of both, than those of Old and New Testament Literature. While it is eminently desirable that a professor of New Testament Literature should be familiar with the Old Testament, and especially with Talmudical and Rabbinical literature, which is becoming accessible to scholars in various treatises and translations, he cannot be expected to be familiar with the manifold details of Old Testament criticism. But the professor of Church History occupies common ground with the professor of New Testament Literature, not only in his treatment of the earlier chapters of Church History, but also in those studies respecting the first two centuries, which may almost be said to belong to each department alike.

CHAPTER I.

MODERN TREATMENT OF ISRAEL'S HISTORY.

§ 3. *Critical Presuppositions.*

It is claimed that Israel's history in its origin is subject to the same laws as those of other nations of antiquity.[1] The story of the beginning of all other ancient nations is mythical. No scholar any longer believes that Romulus and Remus were nourished by a wolf. The whole account is regarded simply as a specimen of a certain class of myths.[2] In the same way, except among men of strongly evangelical tendencies, it has become the custom to regard a large part of the Pentateuch as mythical and legendary.

The accounts of other nations begin with the stories of gods and heroes. Hence the theophanies (e. g. Gen iii, 8 ff.; iv, 6, etc.), the mingling of the sons of God with the daughters of men (Gen. vi, 1-4), and the stories told of giants and heroes (Gen. x: 8-9; Num. xii: 28; Deut. iii, 11; Judg. xiii-xvi; I. Sam. xvii.), are regarded as precisely the same mythical phenomena which are found in profane history.[3] Other peoples derive their national

[1] See Martineau's Preface to *Ewald's History of Israel*, London, 1876, vol. i. p ix. f.

[2] See Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, New York, 1882, p. 149.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Children of God and Daughters of Men*, pp. 352-355. Goldzier, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräer*, Leipzig, 1876, quotes Schelling as saying: "It seems impossible, because it is un-

designation from an ideal ancestor, as the Dorians from Dorus, the Pelasgians from Pelasgus, etc.[1] So, not to speak of the names of ancestors found in the tenth chapter of Genesis, which the critics regard mostly as those of countries and peoples, they not only deny all personality to Eber[2] (Gen. xi. 14), but also to Israel. According to this theory, the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, etc., at the best stand for typical men or tribes.[3] The romance of Jacob's life dissolves into an unsubstantial myth. Esau is a

---

thinkable, that a *people should be without a mythology*," p. xvi. He affirms further that the myth is the result of a purely *psychological* process, and that with language it is the oldest act of the human spirit. And since the mental activity of mankind is conditioned by the same psychological laws, just as their bodily organization exhibits the same physiological laws, he concludes that no race can be excluded from the tendency to form myths. Hence he utterly rejects the statement of Renan that the Semites have never had a mythology. He finds these myths based on an observation of the recurrence of light and darkness. He holds, therefore, that dualism as a religious idea, is a further development of the myth, and has not arisen through the moral problem of the conflict between good and evil. Pp. 1-19.

[1] Cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Boston, 1870, under these names. Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 155, ff, says: "The Greeks spoke concerning a Pelasgus, Hellen, Æolus, Dorus, Ion, etc., as the progenitors of stems with the same names, as did other ancient peoples. Thus it is also the same with the names in this list [Gen. x.]. It would be absurd to except it from the universal symbolical language of antiquity. Some of them are indeed evidently original names of countries or cities, as Mizraim, Kenaan, Zidon, or gentiles (vs. 16 ff), and many others appear as mere names of nations in their plural form (vs. 4, 13 f)."

We are not in a position to prove that the names of which Professor Dillmann speaks are those of individuals. It is of interest, however, to remember in this connection that a prince of the Hittites was actually called Mizraim. See Maspero, *Geschichte der Morgenländischen Völker im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 221.

[2] Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Hebrew Language and Literature*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xi., New York, 1880, pp. 594-595.

[3] Ewald, Stade, and others.

Phœnician god.[1] Leah, the less beloved wife of Jacob, is another name for the tribe of Levi. Even Joshua is merely the name of a clan.

Laws and institutions among most other nations are developed gradually. They are the record of the experience and struggles of the centuries. It is incredible, therefore, as the critics maintain, that the laws which are claimed to have been given by Moses, were really given by him. They were the slow growth of ages and did not receive their final form until after the exile.[2]

It is furthermore affirmed that we are to interpret certain things in the sacred history by the peculiarities of Oriental peoples. Such are marriage, sonship and genealogical tables.[3] Marriage, in the accounts in Genesis, simply indicates the union of two tribes, the stronger being represented by the husband, the weaker by the wife. Tribes of inferior importance, that become lost in another, appear as concubines. Thus Sarah, Hagar, Keturah, Rebecca, Leah, Rachel, Billah and Zilpah are not names of women, but tribes.

Moreover, when we see a priestly family traced back to Aaron, although it is distinctly stated that the father begat sons, and that they begat sons down to the remotest generation, we must not take this literally, according to the critics, but simply as indicating membership in a guild, where blood

[1] Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1881, p. 120. *Ibid.*, p. 146, and *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1881, pp. 115-116.

[2] Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh, 1881, pp. 305 ff.

[3] Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp 30, 123.

relationship is neither meant nor indicated. Hence the whole system of genealogies, whether in Genesis or Chronicles, is rejected.

§ 4. *The Modern Critics' Method of Dealing with the Sources.*

The testimony of the Scriptures with reference to themselves and of tradition in regard to them is cast aside and questions of age and authorship, especially of the Pentateuch, are decided on internal grounds. These consist mainly in four things: peculiarities of language,[1] parallel accounts,[2] peculiar religious representations, and the difficulty that we have in tracing writings which have been supposed to belong to a remote antiquity in writings which are commonly believed to be of a later age.

Almost every author is marked by certain peculiarities of expression, which more or less clearly

[1] Through entire paragraphs the Elohist calls God Elohim, while [to adopt Wellhausen's designation] the Yahvist calls him Jehovah or Jehovah Elohim. He speaks of him as establishing a covenant with his servants (Gen. vi. 8; ix. 9, 11, 17; xvii. 7, 19; Ex. vi. 4,) of male and female (Gen. i. 27; v. 2; vi. 19; vii. 16), where the Yahvist speaks of cutting [Eng. Ver. making] a covenant (Gen. xv. 18; xxvi. 28), and of a man and his wife, in mentioning animals, instead of male and female (Gen. vii. 2).

Wellhausen distinguishes between the Yahvist, from Yahveh, which the majority of critics regard as the original pronunciation of the Hebrew letters Yhvh, and the Jehovist, or combination of the Yahvist and Second Elohist, *i. e.*, the first initial of each name, Y or J, and E=JE, or Jehovah. Cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, vol. i., pp. 30-31.

[2] 1. *Of the Creation: Elohist*—Gen. i. 1—ii. 4*a*. Yahvist—Gen. ii. 4*b*–25.

2. *Of the Flood: Elohist*—Gen. vi. 13–22; vii. 6, 9, 11, 13-16*a*, 18–21, 24; viii. 1, 2*a*, 3*b*–5, 13–19. Yahvist, vii. 1–5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22, 23; viii. 2*b*–3*a*, 6–12, 20–22. The critics claim, aside from other peculiarities, that the Elohist represents the flood as continuing one hundred and fifty days, while the Yahvist limits it to forty.

distinguish him from another. One writer is simple and concise in his narrative, while another is pedantic and diffuse. Now, the critics think that they can very clearly distinguish between the Elohist and Yahvist, not only on account of peculiar expressions, but also by reason of idiosyncrasies of style.[1]

There are said to be differences in the religious representations in the Pentateuch.[2] And these are not merely sporadic, but the writer who is distinguished by his mode of literary composition from another is equally distinguished by a difference in the account of sacred persons, places, times, and modes of worship. While one is characterized by

[1] *Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* Berlin, 1881, p. 57, says of the so-called Yahvist: "His style is fresh and animated, sketching that which is to be related with sharp outlines, so that it appears in a plastic form before the eyes. There is nothing learned, affected, or artificial in his mode of representation. It is natural and popular in the best sense of the word."

From this he distinguishes the style of the Priests' Code, or Elohist, as follows (p. 62): "This book is most easily recognizable among all the Pentateuchal sources. Its formal, in many respects archaic, but at the same time late language, the pedantic breadth of its representation, the chronological scheme which runs through all its parts, immediately betray the portions that belong to it."

[2] Stade, *Ibid.* p. 57, distinguishes the following representations of God. "[The Yahvist 850 B. C.] has naive, antique conceptions of God throughout. His strong anthropomorphic manner of speech is well known. God puts up with Abraham and eats with him; goes to Sodom in order to convince himself by personal investigation whether the report that has come to his ears concerning the badness of its inhabitants is true; he is doubtful whether he shall take Abraham into his confidence or not, and decides upon the latter course, because Abraham is to become the progenitor of a great people, etc."

With reference to the Second Elohist (750 B. C.), he says: "His later age appears most clearly in his religious conceptions. God no longer appears as with his predecessor [the Yahvist] at every time and in every place, but in dreams at night. Along with the angel of God he already recognizes the angels as mediators between God and man."

simplicity in all these, the others show a greater elaboration.[1]

Five main styles of writing, not to mention all, are distinguished by the critics in the Pentateuch (Hexateuch, including Joshua); that of the Yahvist, whose work was written about 850–800 B. C.; that of the second Elohist, who wrote about the year 750 B. C.; that of the Deuteronomist, whose book was written not long before its discovery in the year 621 B. C.; that of the author of the Law of Holiness, Lev. xvii–xxvi, written during the Exile, and that of the Elohist, which arose still later. The completed Hexateuch, nearly in its present form, was first given to the Jews in the year 444 B. C.

It is a curious fact, explain it as we may, that while in the oldest prophetic writings, such as those of Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah, we find traces of the Yahvist, we have much difficulty in discovering incontestable allusions[2] to the Elohist alone, for the Yahvistic and Elohistic narratives sometimes run parallel. We have almost the same difficulty in detecting the Deuteronomic writings, but when we get

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[1] Cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, vol. i. pp. 34, 35. Wellhausen, in the first volume of his *Geschichte Israels*, which has appeared in a second edition as a Prolegomena, devotes one hundred and sixty pages to showing how the *Yahvist* presents the simplest ideas with reference to the place of worship, sacrifices, festivals, the priests and the Levites, and the provision for the clergy; how the *Deuteronomist* represents a higher stage of development in all these respects, and the *Middle Books* of the Pentateuch the highest of all.

[2] Marti has sought to establish the use of the so-called Book of Origins (Elohistic Work) by the pre-exilic prophets of the Old Testament, but with questionable success in the opinion of one who had hoped for greater results from the investigation. See *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 127–161, 308–354.

to Jeremiah, we find it so saturated with Deuteronomic expressions that some have been inclined to claim that Jeremiah was the author of Deuteronomy[1]. Another remarkable phenomenon is that there is such a wonderful correspondence between the last nine chapters of Ezekiel and the author of the "Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.) that some have maintained that Ezekiel was the author of these chapters in Leviticus."[2]

While a constituent part of Joshua belongs to the Elohist, the historical books, from Judges to Kings inclusive, which received their final form during the Exile, manifest only here and there the

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[1] Von Bohlen, (b. 1796; d. 1840). *Die Genesis*, Königsberg, 1835, pp. clxvi. ff, maintains that a Chief Priest with his son Jeremiah was the author of Deuteronomy. Although this theory was exploded by König, *alttestamentliche Studien*, second part, Berlin, 1839, Colenso (b. 1814; d. 1883), in his *Contributions to the Criticism of the Pentateuch*, Bishopstowe, 1873, pp. iii. 1–25, shows, as it seems to him, "convincingly, that the Prophet Jeremiah was the writer of Deuteronomy."

[2] Graf (b. 1815; d. 1869), who has been considered the real founder of the modern critical school—although his teacher, Reuss, as we have seen, is inclined to dispute the claim—in his epoch-making book, *Geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 81, maintains that Ezekiel is the author of Lev. xviii–xxiii, xxv., xxvi. Kayser (b. 1821), who includes Lev. xvii.–xxvi., agrees with Graf in his opinion; see *Das Vorexilische Buch*, Strassburg, 1874, p. 176.

This theory, however, has been rejected by critics of the modern critical school, as well as by those of more conservative views. See Klostermann (b. 1837), who coined the term "Law of Holiness" (*Heiligkeitsgesetz*) for Lev. xvii-xxvii.; *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs* in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie*, etc., Leipzig, 1877, pp. 401-445, and compare my *Levitical Priests*, Edinburgh, 1877, pp. 68-74. The latest phase of critical opinion respecting the authorship of the chapters is by Horst, *Leviticus xvii-xxvi und Hezekiel*, Colmar, 1881, who maintains, p. 93ff, that Ezekiel was the compiler of Lev. xvii.-xxvi., and many years afterwards wrote his prophecy with a view to the changed circumstances of the times.

touch of an Elohistic hand.[1] About the year 300 B. C. the books of Ezra [Nehemiah] and Chronicles were written in the Elohistic or priestly spirit. Correspondences between these books and the Elohistic or priestly portions of the Hexateuch abound on almost every page.

The conclusion which the critics draw from these phenomena is that nothing in the Pentateuch was written by Moses,[2] and that the several parts which compose it were not written before the time indicated. Hence they claim that the traditional history of Israel, as based on the Biblical order of the documents, is incorrect, and that no true history of Israel can be written until we reconstruct it on the basis of the latest critical discoveries, which they consider incontrovertible.

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[1] The critics discover strong traces of the Deuteronomistic redaction in Judges and Kings, although Samuel has suffered less from their hands; see Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 66-79; and Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1883, pp. 241 ff. Traces of post-exilic writing are said to be found in Judges xix-xxi, and of interpolations in conformity with the Priests' code and of a late date in 1st Kings, vii-viii. Compare Bleek [Wellhausen] *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 199-202, and Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, p. 294.

[2] Colenso, *Contributions to the Criticism of the Pentateuch*, Bishopstowe, 1873, p. 3, even denies the existence of Moses. He says: "I believe that it will advance greatly the criticism of the Pentateuch, and assist materially in the formation of a true conception as to the civil and religious development of Israel, if scholars will make up their minds to abandon altogether the notion of the 'activity' of Moses, and to regard the name as merely that of an imaginary leader of the people out of Egypt—a personage quite as unhistorical as Romulus and Remus in the history of Rome, or as our own King Arthur."

§ 5. *The Critical Construction of Israelitish History.*

The ablest and most profound history of Israel[1] that was ever written was by Heinrich Ewald (b. 1803, d. 1875), late Professor in the University of Göttingen. He was unquestionably the greatest Hebrew scholar of his time, and no one has arisen to take his place. Proudly conscious of his pre-eminence, he gave little attention to the theories of others. His work, therefore, is based almost exclusively on his own study of the Old Testament. While he did not write as an apologist and an advocate, few have been able to enter so fully into the spirit of a remote age as he.

His theological standpoint was decidedly liberal, and he was a zealous promoter of the *Protestantenverein*[2] (founded 1863), which corresponds largely to Unitarianism. His critical views would now be regarded as conservatism itself. While recognizing essentially the same documents in the Pentateuch as are now distinguished by the critics, he maintained not only that the fourteenth chapter of Genesis was written before the time of Moses,[3] but also that Israel knew and used the art of writing in Egypt, and that the cognate nations at an early period possessed a historical literature, which was used by the earliest historians of Israel.[4] The Elohistic work

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[1] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1864-1869, in seven volumes. English translation, *History of Israel*, London, 1874-1876, in five (?) volumes.

[2] See *Historical Theology* in this volume under The New Rationalistic Theology.

[3] See p. 34.

[4] *History of Israel*, London, 1876, vol. i., p. 52.

which he called the Book of Origins was, as he thought, composed during Solomon's reign.[1] Although he rejects much in the Old Testament as mythical, and considers Israel merely as one of several Hebrew peoples, and Abraham and the other patriarchs as Hebrew tribes,[2] yet he holds to the essential points in the history of Israel, that Israel was in Egypt,[3] that there was a lawgiver Moses,[4] and an Exodus[5] which resulted in a settlement in the Promised Land.

In striking contrast with this are the representations of the history of Israel[6] by the modern critical school. Only two followers of this school have attempted to present a history of Israel, Wellhausen and Stade. Wellhausen (b. 1844), once a pupil of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. x., 287 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 386.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 67 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 67 ff. Samuel Sharpe, *The History of the Hebrew Nation*, London, fourth ed., 1882, while treating the history from the critical standpoint of the past generation, is now far behind the times.

[6] Edward William Eugen Reuss (b. 1804), professor of theology in Strassburg, who justly claims to have first outlined the views of the modern critical school (*L'Histoire Sainte et La Loi*, Paris, 1879, Tome. i. p. 32), and who boldly prophesied that they would be adopted by many in the coming years (Article *Judenthum*, Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, part 27, Leipzig, 1850, p. 334), has given a brief sketch of the History of the Israelites (*Résume de L'Histoire des Israelites*, pp. 1-81) in the first volume of his Commentary on the Bible. (*La Bible*, Paris, 1877-1878, in fourteen large octavo parts.) Although his reputation rests on his work as a New Testament scholar, yet he is no mean authority respecting the criticism of the Old Testament. This sketch is clear and admirably arranged. His history of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament (*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, Braunschweig, 1881) while it embodies much historical material, views the history rather as a means of determining how the Old Testatment literature arose, than for its own sake.

Ewald, and for some time professor of theology at Greifswald, but now professor of Arabic at Halle, has published a volume of over four hundred and fifty pages, which in the second edition he entitles Prolegomena to the History of Israel.[1] This clear and logical work has done more to secure adherents to the modern critical school in Germany than any other. He has not proceeded farther than the sources in the treatment of the history, except in an article by him on *Israel* in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. xiii).

Stade (b. 1848), who is a theological professor in the University of Giessen, and was last year its rector, is publishing a History of the People of Israel, of which two parts have appeared, extending to the reign of Solomon.[2] Although only Wellhausen and Stade have attempted to write a history of Israel in accordance with the principles of the modern critical school; yet all the adherents of that school hold substantially the same views, and for the most part handle the history in the same unsympathetic way.[3]

They all agree in dismissing the Pentateuch and Joshua as credible sources for the early history of Israel and consider them only of value as illustrating the principles and practices of the age when their constituent parts are said to have been written.

[1] *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1883. The title of the first edition was *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1878.

[2] This is the sixth work under the first division of Oncken's Universal History (*Allgemeine Geschichte*) which is to comprise thirty-two volumes.

[3] There is a heaven-wide difference between the glowing tribute which Ewald pays to the author of the Book of Origins,

While Ewald[1] and other eminent critics,[2] including Dillmann[3] find in Gen. xiv., an excerpt from a pre-

and the depreciating remarks which Wellhausen makes in regard to the same work, as the following extracts show:

BOOK OF ORIGINS.

EWALD.	WELLHAUSEN.
"As in its aims, so also in its language, his work manifests as much peculiarity as perfection and beauty. The style possesses a fulness overflowing with the warmth of sympathy, a lucidity and quiet transparency which is not afraid of slight repetitions conducing to represent the thought perfectly in all its bearings, and often demands an almost poetic symmetry of clauses....The matter as well as the language and picturesque representation of this work breathes a peculiar fresh poetic air; more rounded and graceful, more instinct with a light poetic charm, no prose can well be than that of this work, which also from its florid style of description belongs to the finest period of Hebrew literature and national life."	"An indescribable pedantry of language accompanies the mental pedantry. Although not always so forbidding as in Ex. xxv. ff., or Num. i ff., it finds expression everywhere, even in passages which are wont to be considered models of an epic style. That which is most interesting is passed over; that which is commonplace is accurately described. ....With what exactness God prescribes to the fruit trees their kind, and with what conscientiousness the narrator repeats the divine definition! Gen. i. 11, 12, 29....He is not weary of repeating that which is a matter of course for the hundredth time. He detests all abbreviations. It often appears as though the pronouns did not exist for him."
History of Israel, London, 1876, vol. i. pp. 92–93.	Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israel*, Berlin, 1878, vol. i. p. 336.

[1] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. Göttingen, 1864, pp. 80, 431 f., 440 ff.

[2] Tuch (b. 1806, d. 1861), *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1847, pp. 161-194.

[3] Although Nöldeke has sought to establish the unhistorical character of this narrative (*Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, Kiel, 1869, pp. 156-172; and in Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 213-219), Dillmann (b. 1823), in the last edition of his admirable commentary, which is written from the standpoint of advanced and free criticism, although not that of the modern critical school, finds no reason for doubting the position taken by Ewald, that this chapter was derived from a pre-Mosaic Canaanitic document, since he says that no one will any longer contend that the Canaanites had not writing, and used it long before the Israelites." See *Die Genesis*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 220.

Mosaic Canaanitic document, Wellhausen and Stade hold that the earliest part of the Pentateuch was not written before 850 B. C. Stade is the only one, however, who rejects the residence of Israel in Egypt.[1] The whole school considers Israel as one of the Hebrew peoples who very gradually, after many years of conflict, pressed into the land of Canaan. In Stade's treatment of the history, so far as the Biblical account is concerned, he does not begin before the time of the Judges. Joshua,[2] as we have seen, has no place as a general. The stories about him are as unreal as those about Ninus and Semiramis, the mythical founders of the Assyrian Empire.

While Stade seems to accept the history of the Kings in its main outlines, so far as his work has appeared, he completely changes the religious history of the people. The Mosaism of the Middle Books of the Pentateuch is not connected with the Tabernacle in the wilderness, but with the Second Temple. It is not the work of the great lawgiver during the wandering in the wilderness, but the product of the priests during the Babylonian Exile,

[1] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1881, p. 127, where he says: "The residence of the people in Egypt is historically suspicious." He admits that we cannot deny that certain Hebrew tribes or families may have resided in Egypt, but holds that it is impossible that the Hebrews, not to speak of Israel, should have done so. He speaks contemptuously of those who try to determine the name of the Pharaoh under whom the Israelites entered and left Egypt, and especially of those who attempt to determine the route which the Israelites took at the time of the Exodus. See *Ibid.* p. 129. The course pursued by Stade seems to be the only one open to the critics, since, on the supposition that Israel resided in Egypt, it would seem to be inexplicable that they should have no literature before the ninth century B. C.

[2] See p. 9.

to which Ezra gave nearly the final stamp. According to this view, monotheism is not a truth understood by the patriarchs, or a revelation from Mount Sinai, it is rather the glorious consummation of prophetic preaching after ages of fetichism, polytheism, and Yahvism. Yahveh was simply the national God of Israel, as Chemosh was of the Moabites. The worship of Yahveh in the northern kingdom, under the form of two steers (1 Kings, xii. 28–30) was just as legitimate as that in Judah, which was really the same. The prophetic author of Kings, in deploring the burning of incense and the offering of sacrifices on the high places (2 Kings, xii. 3; xviii. 4, etc.), is simply writing from the standpoint of the later prophetic age, but not from that of devout men in the times which he is describing.

Aaron is not the high priest of the Tabernacle, but is simply the mask which a powerful hierarchy developed through various stages from the simplest form, as represented in the Book of the Covenant,[1] to the most elaborate in the Middle Books of the Pentateuch, placed upon the man who was destined to be the prince of the congregation.[2]

Some critics like Kuenen do not hesitate to say that such books as those of Deuteronomy and of the Priests' Code are pious frauds, written with a sincere desire of producing certain reforms, but with the consciousness that the materials were moulded to

[1] Here young men are represented as serving at the conclusion of the covenant. Ex. xxiv. 5.

[2] The high priest was really a prince in post-exilic times, cf. Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*, London, 1875, vol. ii. pp. 212ff.

their purpose[1]. Others lay more stress upon the gradualness of the process, and the growth of myths and legal codes which were used by these authors.[2] Still we cannot escape the conviction that if these theories are true,[3] the post-exilic writer who so minutely described the construction of the Tabernacle in the wilderness must have written with the intent to deceive, since all these minute details could not have had a mythical origin.[3]

It is, perhaps, superfluous to say that this construction of the history of Israel, which we have indicated, does not regard the statements of the Old

[1] Kuenen *Ibid.* pp. 18–19, says: "Men used to perpetrate such fictions as these without any qualms of conscience. . . . . It is true this deception is much more unjustifiable still than the introduction of Moses as speaking. . . . . [But] 'now or never,' the Mosaic party had to gain their end;" cf. vol. iii. p. 75: "It appears, then, that the Israelitish priesthood, to maintain its authority and heighten its prestige, employed the same means which priests used elsewhere in the old world. . . . . This fact must be recognized in its full scope and significance, but while we do this we wish to bear in mind that such 'pious frauds' were considered lawful," etc.

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 362, repudiates the idea advanced by Kuenen, that the Deuteronomic Code was a forgery of the high priest and Hilkiah. He says: "The book became the programme of Josiah's reformation, because it gathered up in practical form the results of the great movement under Hezekiah and Isaiah, and the new divine teaching then given to Israel."

[3] Of recent works from a strictly conservative standpoint, we may quote two: Köhler, *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, Erlangen, 1875–1881, which extends to the time of David. He does not discuss the new critical theories with respect to the sources. Sime's *Kingdom of all Israel*, London, 1883, the work of a studious Scotch layman, deserves honorable mention. He has retouched the old narratives in such a way as to produce a most interesting story of the times from Saul to Solomon. Withal he weaves in the critical questions of the Pentateuch. The feeling that his position is a strong one leads him to dogmatize in cases where we cannot be certain. Still the book may be read with great profit. Delitzsch's *Old Testament History of Redemption*, Edinburgh, 1881, although fanciful in its arrangement, is rich and suggestive.

Testament as historical, because occurring in a Book which the Church regards as inspired. It does not accept its descriptions of the times which it professes to represent as correct. It takes the statements of the Old Testament and sifts them, just as the secular historian would sift the writings of Livy, and reconstructs the history according to a hypothesis of its own.

§ 6. *Criticisms on the Critical Method.*

We offer the following considerations which may be urged against the treatment of Israel's history by the modern critical school:

1. The fact that other nations represent their history as beginning with the activity of gods and demigods in human affairs does not prove that those parts of Israel's history which especially represent God as an immediate factor in the course of events are mythical. To arrive at this conclusion we must first prove that God never does interpose in the affairs of men, and that he never had a chosen people.

If we compare the theophanies in the early history of heathen nations with those of the Old Testament we shall see the infinite superiority of the Biblical representations. Admitting, as we must, that these heathen theophanies never could have occurred, we do not thereby disprove that there are genuine theophanies in the Old Testament history, any more than if we were to prove that all the crown jewels of Europe, except those of Great Britain, were paste, it would therefore follow that the Kohinoor is not a genuine diamond. But we may say with

reference to the heathen theophanies, that a profound truth underlies them, namely, that God is deeply interested in the course of history, and may therefore interpose when he sees fit.

Furthermore, we have the consistent representation all through the history, prophecy and poetry of the Old and New Testaments, that God is a factor in history. This idea is not only expressed in the call of Abraham, the mission of Moses and Joshua, the office of Samuel and the prophets, but also in the chastisements which follow the people all through their history until Jerusalem finally falls a prey to the Romans.

2. It is asserted, as we have seen, that the Mosaic system must have grown up gradually, and could not have been given at the beginning of the nation's history in the wilderness of Sinai. This opinion, however, rests on two unproved assumptions: (1) that the nation was without a supernatural beginning; and (2) that it slowly emerged from barbarism. But if we admit that Israel was God's chosen people, and that his dealings with them were miraculous, we have no difficulty in supposing that he gave them an extended code through his servant Moses. Moreover, it is consistent with the representations regarding Moses, that he was in a position to produce such a code. It portrays him as the adopted son of a princess in the most civilized nation of antiquity, and, as fully conscious that he was at the head of God's chosen people. Thus by nature, by education, and by God's eminent favor he was better fitted to produce such a code than any person in the subsequent history.

3. The critical method neglects what may be termed the external evidences respecting Israel's origin in its dependence on the internal. The internal evidence, from a study of the Hebrew text, in support of the proposition that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but arose gradually, and did not reach its completion until after the Exile, is indeed striking, and, if other considerations were lost sight of, might seem well nigh unanswerable. But this question should not be decided on internal evidence alone. Such queries as these must be raised: Are the accounts given of Moses and Israel in Egypt true to life? Have they an Egyptian coloring? Could they have happened at the time when they are said, as nearly as we can determine, to have occurred? Now, almost every Egyptologist admits that they are in the main just such accounts as we might expect. Either these narratives are given with remarkable fidelity, or they have been prepared with a consummate art which rivals that of the authors of modern historical romances, and which is quite contrary to the spirit of their age.

Which, then, is the true representation? That which the critics claim to have derived from a scientific analysis of the text, or that which we gather from the course of the sacred narratives themselves, illustrated by external history. Can the phenomena which the critics present be explained on any other theory than theirs? We think they can. There were doubtless long ages in which the Pentateuch was neglected. There were, as we think, substantially two codes—one technical, for the priests, the other

popular, for the people. The technical code has left scarcely any impress on Israel's literature before the Exile, because it was in the hands of the priests, to whom the people were to go for legal information; and it seems that in a time of religious declension the people's book, Deuteronomy, was lost until it was brought out of its hiding place in the days of Josiah (2 Kings, xxii, 8—xxiii, 3). The reason why the impress of the entire Pentateuch appears in the literature after the Exile, as never before, is because the minds of those who were most devout among the priests and the people were turned during the long period of the Exile to consider the causes of the national calamities. The one grand cause was found in the idolatry of the people. This the entire history of Israel and Judah had illustrated from the time of the Judges until the overthrow of Jerusalem. They found their chastisements and their final captivity foretold in Leviticus (xxvi., 14-33) and Deuteronomy (xxviii., 15-68), as the result of disobedience. Hence the entire thought of the faithful remnant among the priests and the people was how, in the reorganization of the Jewish nation, these evils might be averted. The only answer seemed to be that a strict observance of the law of Moses would secure this end. The result was that the scribe who could reproduce that law, rather than the prophet, who was the general preacher of righteousness, came into prominence. Thus, after more than eight hundred years of bitter experience, the entire Pentateuch was elevated to a position that it had never enjoyed before, as the publicly recognized code of the restored nation.

4. Another criticism that we make on the critical theory is that it minimizes epoch-making men. It has much to say about Mosaism and little about Moses, just as though there could be a stream without a fountain, a river Nile without the head waters of the Albert and Victoria Nyanzas.

5. In view of these considerations, it does not seem that we have at all reached the point where the secular historian, even, may wisely reconstruct the history of Israel, as the critics propose. To write the history of Israel without the residence in Egypt and without Moses, is to write the play of *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out; but if we presuppose such a fact as the residence in Egypt, and such a person as Moses, then the early history must have had essentially the course which is predicated of it. At the same time we must remember that it was by no means the object of the sacred writers to present a complete history of Israel. They sought rather through the great panorama which they unfold before us to show how God's chosen people were blessed in their obedience, and cursed in their alienation from God.

CHAPTER II.

PLACE AND TIME.

§ 7. *The Countries with which Israel first came in Contact.*

In estimating the influences which were potent in the formation of Israel's character, and which tend to confirm the account of Scripture as to their origin, we must have regard to the nationalities with which Israel came in contact. These were doubtless important factors in the training of God's ancient people. It is a significant fact, if we accept the testimony of the Old Testament, that Israel in its infancy and childhood moved among the most civilized nations of antiquity.

We may not suppose that Israel, which is now so susceptible to its surroundings in the different nations, was wholly, or even largely, insensible to the influence of those peoples which stood at the very summit of ancient civilization, all of whom probably possessed, among other arts, that of writing. We know that the Chaldean contemporaries of Abraham, in whose country he was born, possessed that art.[1] They had, although in much

[1] Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 41; cf. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, new edition, by A. H. Sayce, New York, pp. 21, 30: "Most of the tablets were copied from early Babylonian ones, which have in most cases disappeared; but the copies are sufficient to show the wonderful progress in culture and civilization already made by the people of Chaldea long before the age of Moses or even Abraham."

grosser form, traditions which run almost parallel with the first ten chapters of Genesis. The similarity is so great that we must suppose that the author of these chapters must have drawn his materials from a common source, either from the time of Abraham or after the Babylonian Exile. The former supposition seems to be more probable, for it is unlikely that a conquered and captive people would voluntarily accept the traditions of its conquerors.[1] In any case, the superintendence of the Divine Spirit is remarkably evident in clearing these traditions from their grosser elements.[2]

At the time that the holy family first move across the scene in Palestine they are not surrounded by an ignorant horde of barbarians. To the northeast of Syria was the powerful nation of the Hittites,[3] with whom afterwards Ramses Second, who was the

[1] Cf. *A Symposium on the Antediluvian Narratives*, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Andover, 1883, pp. 448, 531.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 521–529.

[3] Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 295, says: "When Ramses came to the throne, he found the Hittites, masters of Syria, dominant over the whole region from Mount Taurus to Philistia." See especially, A. H. Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites* in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, London, 1881, pp. 248–293. We quote as follows (p. 251) from the article: "Our knowledge of the Hittites is almost entirely confined, at present, to what we know of them from Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. From these we learn that from the seventeenth to the twelfth centuries B. C. they were the leading people of Western Asia, holding the balance of power between Egypt on the one side and Assyria on the other, and that their two centers of power were Kadesh, on the Orontes, and Carchemish, ... on the Euphrates, about sixteen miles south of Birejik."

Brugsch, *Geschichte Egyptens unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 450, says: "We believe surely that we do not fall into any error when we hold fast to the opinion that we recognize those Hittites, concerning whom the Holy Scriptures, from the days of Abraham, etc., relate so much." Others, however, do not think that their domain extended so far south.

contemporary of Moses, waged a wearisome war for more than two decades, and from whose king he received a daughter as his wife. On the battlefield where Ramses won immortal glory, as celebrated by the Egyptian poet Pentaur,[1] the scribe of the king of the Hittites was slain, and the final treaty of peace was engraved in the language of the Hittites, on a silver plate,[2] thus showing that they possessed the art of writing.

It is not improbable that previous to this time the great commercial people of antiquity, the Phœnicians, had left the shores of the Persian gulf,[3] and had already settled on the coast of Palestine. They were the guardians of the fine arts, and are credited with the invention of the alphabet. Some think that the Hyksos, or Shepherd kings of Egypt, came from them, and that these perhaps derived the Phœnician alphabet from the hieratic Egyptian characters.[4]

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[1] See *Records of the Past*, London, vol. ii., pp. 67–78.
Cf. Chabas, *Voyage D'un Egyptien*, Paris 1866, pp. 332-347.

[2] A. H. Sayce, *Monuments of the Hittites*, p. 251 says: "The most striking peculiarity of the Hittite system of writing is that the characters are always in relief. We may infer from this that the earliest Hittite inscriptions were not upon stone, but plates of metal. This inference is supported by the fact that the Hittite copy of the treaty made with Ramses Second of Egypt was engraved on a plate of silver."

[3] For a discussion as to the traditions respecting the origin of the Phœnicians, see Movers, *Das phönizische Alterthum*, first part Berlin 1849, pp. 23 ff., cf. Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East, Herodotus I-III.*, London, 1883, pp. 1-2, 407.

[4] Eber's theory in regard to the matter is as follows (*Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 149ff): "In the third millenium before Christ, as Epigraphic proves, the Phœnicians stood in close communication with Egypt, learned from the subjects of Pharaoh the art of cursive writing, and carried it to all the nations of Western Asia and Europe." He quotes here the testimony of various classic authors, and then proceeds:

But the great people of antiquity, the university of the ancient Semitic nations, were the Egyptians, a people who not only possessed the arts of civilized life, but also astronomers, medical writers, theologians, historians, poets, and novelists.[1]

It would seem, therefore, well nigh impossible that Israel should have come, even remotely, under these influences without bearing more or less of an impress which gives color to the books of the Pentateuch.

§ 8. *The Land.*

One of the most important elements in the study of an ancient nation's history is an examination of the land which it inhabited. Only after such examination can we form an intelligent conception of those parts of the people's history which are determined by their geographical position. Such investigations are of especial importance in sifting the account which is given of the history of the Conquest. If a knowledge of geography is indispensable to the great military leaders, it is not less so to the historian. This is in the line of those external tests which must be applied at points where internal

"The Phœnicians derived their letters from the hieratic characters of the ancient Egyptians, with a probability bordering on certainty, even before the time of the Hyksos, for it is precisely the oldest hieratic characters which resemble the Phœnician letters most." This theory is essentially confirmed by Sayce in the work just quoted, p. 409.

[1] Although several volumes of Egyptian texts have been published, it is said that they are but "as a drop in the bucket compared with that which remains to be done." The range of the literature is something remarkable, far exceeding what we have indicated. See Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1882, vol. i., p. 139.

criticism and the hypotheses of critics and objectors might lead us astray.

We must therefore rejoice in the sound scholarship and love of the Scriptures which led English Christians to establish the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, and in what that society has achieved in the survey of Western Palestine, now completed, and in the valuable works which it has published.

Our American Christians are so engrossed with practical matters, that the *American Palestine Exploration Society*, which began with so much promise in the land to the east of the Jordan, has become moribund. This is greatly to be regretted, as the opportunity for investigation was scarcely inferior in interest and importance to that on the west side of the Jordan. Under these circumstances it is a matter of satisfaction that the English have also undertaken this survey.[1]

Nor have the Germans, with their love of accurate investigations, been content to be excluded from this work. Their interest has, perhaps, arisen rather from their scientific spirit than from a strong desire to find a confirmation of the statements of Scripture. Their activities have been confined to excavations in and about Jerusalem.[2]

In geographical extent the Holy Land,[3] which thus rightly claims the deepest interest of the Chris-

[1] *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1881, first part, pp. 5-33; second part, pp. 184 f. The survey has been delayed on account of unexpected hindrances arising from the Turkish government.

[2] Guthe, *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem*, Leipzig, 1883.

[3] The following sketch is not based on the most recent sources. When the *Palestine Exploration Fund* shall have more nearly completed its publications some of the results will be laid before the readers of *Current Discussions*.

tian world, is about one hundred and fifty miles in length and fifty miles in width. It is unlike any other country. A continuation of the ranges formed by the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, breaking into hills, runs throughout the land. While it is elevated from fifteen to eighteen hundred feet above the level of the Mediterranean, the Jordan, rising "from the roots of Anti-Lebanon," sinks lower and lower until it reaches its extreme depression in the Dead Sea, about thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

The geographical position of the Holy Land might have proved its salvation from the world powers had it not sought their interference in its affairs (2 Kings xvi., 5-9; xviii., 21), and listened to the voice of the prophets who discountenanced this foreign policy. From its heights it could look securely down as the great powers marched and countermarched along the coast to engage in mutual combat. The land was singularly well fitted for a peculiar people who were to be separated from other nations.

Much of the country now looks so barren, and is a scene of such utter desolation, that infidels have jeered at the statement of Scripture that it was once a land flowing with milk and honey (Ex. iii., 8, 17, etc.). But there are various testimonies and considerations which substantiate the claim of Scripture:

(1.) Profane writers speak of it as a land of remarkable fertility.[1] (2.) The multifarious ruins

[1] Tacitus, *Historia*, v. 6; Ammianus Marcellinus, book XIV., Ch. viii., § 11, etc. See *Ingersoll and Moses*, Chicago, 1880, pp. 107 ff.

on almost every hilltop show that it must once have sustained a very large population. (3.) The present barren condition of the land may be easily explained: (1.) The trees began to be cut off, commencing with the invasion of Shishak in the early part of the tenth century B. C. (2.) Ages of neglect have occasioned the destruction of the terraces which once rewarded the labors of the careful husbandman. (3.) The country has no chance to rally under the evils of Turkish misrule, which tends to ruin the fairest domain.

§ 9. *The Chronology.*

The question of Biblical Chronology[1] is most perplexing.[2] It cannot be said that the Bible presents a chronology, although it furnishes the data for one. The Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan texts of the Pentateuch differ in their dates. Hence has arisen the difference between a long and a short chronology, as represented by Hales and Ussher.

The latest criticism goes so far, not only as to pass over the chronology before the time of the

[1] See the excellent article on *Chronology* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1868, vol. i, pp. 432ff.

[2] The following is some of the literature respecting the subject: Nöldeke, *Die Chronologie der Richterzeit*, in *Untersuchungen*, etc. Kiel, 1869, pp. 173–198. Wellhausen, *Die Zeitrechhung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs* in *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, Gotha, 1875, pp. 607 ff, 640; Krey *zur Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige*, in *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 404-408, Schrader, *Chronologischer Excurs, Die Keilinschriften and das Alte Testament*, Giessen 1883, pp. 458-468; König, *Beiträge zur Biblischen Chronologie, Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, Nos. vi, pp. 281-289; viii, pp. 393-405; ix, pp. 449-458; xii, pp 617-621. Kamphausen, *Neuer Versuch einer Chronologie der hebräischen Könige*, in Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1883, pp. 193-202.

Kings with silent contempt, but even holds that the 480 years that are said to have elapsed from the building of Solomon's temple until the restoration of the Jewish State are made up of artificial dates in which certain significant numbers play a great role, among which are twelve and forty.[1]

Moreover, the Assyrian chronology, which runs parallel with that of Israel from 900 to 666 B.C., diverges more or less from it.

The claim that the chronology of the Kings is artificial, is by no means established. Modern French history yields combinations which look quite as suspicious as anything which the critics discover in the Old Testament in the time of the Kings.

With respect to the Assyrian chronology, we may well wait for further developments, and even if the Israelitish and Assyrian chronologies should not be found fully to agree, there would be no evidence that the Biblical chronology of the Books of Kings was not drawn from good historical sources.

[1] Oppert, *Salomon et ses Successeurs*, 1877, whose work I have not seen, but who is quoted by König, gives historical examples of the number 480, e. g., the Roman republic existed 480 years, and the kingdom of the Parthians had the same duration. Although the cogency of this reasoning is doubted by König, since, as he maintains, one of its constituent parts, 40, is equivalent to *many* among the Israelites, yet a chronology is not to be rejected because it is made up of suspicious numbers. Oppert calls attention to the fact that three Prussian rulers reigned together 100 years, and that their three immediate successors reigned 100 years more. Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der Hebräischen Könige*, Bonn, 1883, has shown some strange freaks in historic chronology, e. g., the memorable occurrence of the dates 1440, 1640, 1740, 1840 in the history of the royal German house of Hohenzollern. The following illustrations are taken from French history: first republic, 12; first empire, 10; Louis Eighteenth, 10; Charles Tenth, 6; Louis Philippe, 18; second republic, 4; second empire of Napoleon, 18=78 years—1=77=7 ×11. The first two 12+10=22=2×11; the two last 4+18=22 =2×11; and the last six numbers 66=6×11. This is not the end of the suspicious combinations which these numbers yield, as well as other examples which he gives.

CHAPTER III.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATION.

§ 10. *The Patriarchs.*

While the most conservative critics of the modern school hold that the patriarchs are typical men or tribes, whose destinies are more or less correctly traced in Genesis, the most advanced critics regard them as purely mythological personages, and pour contempt on those who try to determine when Abraham and Joseph visited Egypt.

There are two things, however, that we may observe in these narratives: (1.) God proceeds on a plan which is diametrically opposed to the theories of the modern critical school. (2.) All the references to Egpytian manners and customs are not only true to life, but to the particular time when we may suppose that Abraham visited Egypt.

The Old Testament clearly shows that men, by nature, instead of going up in the moral scale go down. This is illustrated in the descendants of Adam and Noah, until God makes a new beginning with Abram that he may separate a people of salvation for himself. He therefore calls Abram to leave the pagan city, Ur, of the Chaldees (Gen. xi. 31 cf. xii. 1), which was the seat of the worship of the moon-god.[1] It is supposed that he passed a con-

[1] Schrader (b. 1836) *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Giessen, 1883, p. 130.

siderable time in Harran in Mesopotamia, which was also devoted to the worship of the moon-god[1], with his nephew Lot.

During Abram's sojourn in Canaan a famine arose (Gen. xii. 10), and he, like other Semites about whom scholars read on the monuments, went to Egypt. The story about Abram's dealings with Sarah, when he thought his life was in danger on her account, is as faithful to the customs of Egypt at the time as if written by a contemporary.[2] The omission of horses, etc., in the presents which were made by Pharaoh to Abram, once urged by critics against the truthfulness of the story, is now made to establish its credibility.[3]

Not less remarkable in its Egyptian coloring is the story of Joseph. Critics, indeed, dismiss this narrative as utterly unhistorical, but Ebers has shown that the account about Joseph exhibits a wonderful fidelity to Egyptian life in every particular.[4] The narrative concerning his temptation by Potiphar's wife bears such a striking resemblance to

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 134.

[2] In the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, *Records of the Past*, London, Vol. 11, p. 142, we read how Pharaoh sent two armies to secure a beautiful woman, a lock of whose hair was floated from the sea into the linen which was being washed for the king.

[3] Von Bohlen, *Die Genesis*, 1835, p. 164, casts doubt on the account because of the absence of horses. But Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 256ff, shows how every detail is adapted to the time before the Hyksos were rulers in Egypt, when Abram must have visited Egypt. Before the time of the Hyksos there is no mention of horses on the monuments, although they are represented by thousands after that period.

[4] This narrative, which was once criticised by Tuch and von Bohlen as contrary to the supposed separation of the sexes has been shown by Ebers to be an accurate photograph of Egyptian manners. *Ibid.*, pp. 305 ff.

the *Tale of the Two Brothers* that some have supposed that they were derived from a common source, but the points of difference are greater than those of correspondence.

§ 11. *Israel in Egypt.*

As we have seen, doubt has been thrown on the residence in Egypt[1] (1) because no clear allusion has yet been found to the fact on the monuments, and (2) because such meagre accounts have come down to us respecting this period which, according to the longest calculation, covers 430 years (Ex. xii., 40; cf. Gen. xv., 13; Acts vii., 6), and according to the shortest 215.[2]

It has been claimed by Ebers and other eminent Egyptologists that we have a clear indication of the presence of the Hebrews in Egypt, where we read about the Apuriu, or Hebrews, who seem to be engaged in the construction of public buildings;[3] but while so far as their name and their menial occupations are concerned, these accounts agree admirably with the portraiture given of the Hebrews, yet other descriptions, which represent them as knights, princes, and horsemen, seem, in the opinion of such eminent scholars as Brugsch, to be fatal to such a theory.[4]

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[1] Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, Berlin, 1881, p. 128.

[2] The Septuagint renders the passage thus: "The sojourning of the children and of their fathers which they sojourned in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt," etc., cf. Gal. iii., 17.

[3] Ebers (b. 1837), *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, pp. 316-317, and *Durch Gosen Zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1872, pp. 75, 521.

[4] *Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen*, pp. 582-583. Cf. Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, London, 1877, vol. 1, p. 435.

But the silence of the monuments regarding the Israelites cannot be considered as evidence that they were never in Egypt, for the same monuments, so far as present investigations extend, never mention the name of the Hyksos,[1] who are supposed by some to have been masters of a part of Egypt at least two hundred,[2] and by others for more than five hundred years.[3]

The fact that the Scriptures have but little to relate concerning this period could only have force in disproving the residence of Israel there, if it were the plan of the sacred writers to present a complete history; but this is not the case. The history of redemption follows a different course from that of ordinary history. For its purpose the greater part of Israel's sojourn in Egypt is as barren as the wastes of Sahara. Besides, no fact seems to be more deeply impressed on the national remembrance than that of the residence in Egypt (Hos. ii., 15; xi., 1; xii., 9, 13; xiii., 4; Amos ii., 10; iii., 1; ix., 7).

Egyptologists generally are agreed that the family of Jacob must have come to Egypt during the reign of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings.[4] Modern research has not yet been able to determine who these shepherd kings were. All are agreed that they came from the east, but whether they were

[1] Brugsch, *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[2] Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1882, vol. ii., p. 23.

[3] Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 201, 222; cf. Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, London, 1883, p. 325.

[4] Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 243; Ebers, *Aegypten*, etc., p. 260; Rawlinson *Ancient Egypt*, p. 209, and others.

Hittites[1] or Phœnicians,[2] or some other nationality, is still unknown.

In any case they must have been more favorable to the Hebrews than any native dynasty could have been, and the settlement of the Israelites in the fertile district of Goshen was conducive to their rapid development, and was in that part of the country which the Semites most commonly visited.

§ 12. *The Exodus.*

During the latter part of the sojourn in Egypt we read of a king who knew not Joseph (Ex. i., 8). The majority of the authorities suppose that this was Ramses Second, the most powerful and glorious of the Egyptian kings. At the age of ten he was associated with his father, Seti First, on the throne as a means of strengthening his father's power, since he united in himself, through his parents, the claims of two rival houses. His reign continued sixty-seven years. It is supposed that more than twenty years of this period were spent in war with the Hittites. Under him, as Egyptologists believe, the treasure cities of Pithom and Ramses (Ex. i.,

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[1] Lenormant, *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, London, 1869, vol. i., p. 220, holds that they were Canaanites, but that the leading tribe was the Hittites; so too, Rawlinson, *Ibid.*, p. 197; cf. Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 325.

[2] Ebers, *Ibid.*, p. 222; cf. Brugsch, *Ibid.*, pp. 216 ff.

[3] Lepsius (b. 1810), *Die Chronologie der Aegypter*, Berlin, 1849, p. 358. Lenormant (b. 1835), *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, London, 1869, vol. i., p. 92. Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 76. Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 549. Cf. Maspero (b. 1846), *Geschichte der Morganländischen Völker im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 257. Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 336.

11) were built with the blood and sweat of the Israelites. The picture given of their cruel oppressions corresponds to that which we find on the monuments.[1]

It was no empty fear when Pharaoh (Ex. i., 8–10) saw danger in the rapid increase of the Israelites, who, with the other subject races, may have constituted a third of the population.[2]

I. MOSES.

It was at this splendid period, when the Egyptian nation had reached the acme of its power, that Moses was born, and perhaps became the adopted son of Ramses' favorite daughter, Bint-Antha.[3]

If the story of his adoption (Ex. ii., 10) be true, there can be no doubt that his education was all which is predicated of it in the New Testament (Acts vii., 22). Indeed, the critics are fully agreed that the one who wrote the passages about Egyptian manners and customs must have had an intimate acquaintance with the country.

Before God's time had come, in a fit of indignation, he rashly attempted to help his brethren by killing one of their oppressors (Ex. ii., 11–12). But he was compelled to flee from the country and dwell in Midian (Ex. ii., 15). Thus he doubtless became familiar with the awful solitudes of that

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[1] Brugsch, *Histoire D'Egypte*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 174-175.

[2] Rawlinson, vol. ii., p. 325.

[3] Ramses had a much younger daughter, Meri, whose name reminds us of Merris, the foster mother of Moses, according to Jewish tradition. See Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen*, p. 563.

country (Ex. iii., 1), where he was to lead the Israelites for so many years.

His return to his people and the Exodus is supposed to have occurred in the reign of Mernephtah (1320 B. C.),[1] the thirteenth son of Ramses Second, who was sixty years of age when he came to the throne, although some put the Exodus at a later date.[2] The kingdom was greatly weakened under this ruler,[3] perhaps through the long years of peace which unfitted the Egyptians for keeping their enemies in check, so that the time was eminently favorable for the deliverance of God's chosen people.

2. THE TEN PLAGUES.[4]

It was not easy, even after the Egyptian power had been so greatly weakened as it appears to have been in the time of Mernephtah, for the Israelites to break away from their oppressors, hence the divine interposition was necessary in their behalf.

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[1] See the authorities quoted who maintain that Ramses Second was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, p. 55.

[2] Maspero, *Geschichte der Morgenländischen Völker im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 258, holds that only during the years which preceded and followed the death of Seti Second, the successor of Mernephtah, do we find the land of Egypt in that state of complete anarchy which would be favorable to the Exodus. Cf. Eisenlohr, *on the Political Condition of Egypt before the Reign of Ramses III.*, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, London, 1872, p. 385.

[3] His "reign was troubled by the invasion of the Libu and Mashnash, who were dwelling in the west of Egypt, and of their allies on the Mediterranean Sea." Ibid., p. 374.

[4] Cf. The admirable treatment of this subject in *The Holy Bible, ... with an explanatory and critical commentary* [*Speaker's*], New York, 1871, vol. i., pp. 241ff., to which the writer acknowledges his indebtedness for the following two paragraphs.

These plagues, to some degree at least, seem to have been in the nature of a judgment upon the gods of Egypt (cf. Ex. xii., 12). With the exception of the death of the first-born, they were connected with the local phenomena of the country, and probably occupied several months, giving ample time for the Israelites to be prepared, in mind at least, for their journey.

The plagues were arranged by triads, each of the first two being announced; but the third, sixth, and ninth were inflicted without announcement. The king was vacillating and stubborn, even after his subjects felt that the Israelites should be allowed to go (Ex. x., 7); but he might well hesitate to lose so large a population, whose departure was likely to have a prejudicial effect on the resources of the country.[1] It was only the last judgment, in the death of the first-born, which extorted a heart-broken permission[2] that the Israelites might go (Ex. xii., 31–32). This last plague was most favorable for the escape of the Israelites, since the Egyptians were wont to suspend every other occupation when mourning for their dead.

3. THE INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER.

The institution of the passover dates from the time of the Exodus out of Egypt, and is connected

[1] Wilkinson (b. 1797, d. 1875), *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, New York, 1878, vol. i., p. 55.

[2] Ebers, *Durch Gosen Zum Sinai*, p. 88, says that the words, "Go, and bless me also" (Ex. xii., 32), seem to have been uttered with tears, which the father shed for the son who had been just torn away from him. *Ibid.*, p. 89. "A monument confirms the fact that Mernephtah, during his life, lost a son, who, like himself, was called Mernephtah."

with the last plague.[1] One or more families were to unite for its celebration. The blood of the lamb was to be sprinkled on the door-posts, so that when the destroying angel passed by he might spare the first-born son of the house. Not long after the passover feast was celebrated the land of Egypt resounded with bitter wailings over the death of the first-born. Each circle partook of the lamb with bitter herbs, and of unleavened bread, with their loins girded and their staves in their hands. (Ex. xii. 1–14.)

4. THE ROUTE OF THE ISRAELITES.

Taking their utensils with them, and the treasures which they were to ask (Ex. iii. 21; xi. 2 Heb. *shāal*) of the Egyptians, they started off, as they doubtless supposed, on the high road to the land of the Philistines. This route, however, would have been attended with special dangers, for they would have been brought at once into contact with enemies with whom they were not prepared to cope. The Egyptians had fortifications on the boundaries[2] that they would have been poorly prepared to pass,

[1] Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 90-91, maintains that the passover originated in the sacrifice of the first-born [lamb] from gratitude to God for the increase of the flock. The account of the death of the Egyptian first-born he considers a myth which grew up at a very late date, in connection with the custom of burning first-born sons shortly before the exile. [Cf. A. Sayce, *Human Sacrifice Among the Babylonians, Transactions of the Society of Bib. Archæology*, London, 1875, p. 25ff.] But while Wellhausen attributes Ex. xiii. 3-6 to the youngest editor of the Jehovistic [i. e. Yahvistic and second Elohistic] work, others, as Schrader and Dillmann, assign it directly to the Jehovist, and so to the oldest document.

[2] Ebers, *Durch Gosen Zum Sinai*, p. 93ff.

and there were powerful enemies near at hand who would have opposed them in front even if they had succeeded in passing the Egyptian outposts, while the Egyptians would have harassed their rear. Besides the people were not ready for a compact civil life. They needed the schooling of the wilderness and all the supernatural manifestations of power, concerning which we read, before they were fit to undertake the conquest of Canaan and found a state. They turned back therefore as God had originally designed (cf. xiii. 17–18) and marched southwest to the head of the Red Sea, which then extended fifty miles further north than now, where God, through a strong east wind, opened a way for them through the waters[1] (Ex. xiv. 21).

Meantime Pharaoh had learned of their retreat. It does not seem that he had spent the seventy days in mourning for his son, as was customary. At any rate he pursued after the Israelites only to lose his host. If Mernephtah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus he did not die at that time.[2]

It is sometimes objected that the monuments would not have failed to mention so memorable a disaster had it occurred, but it was not the custom

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 97, cf. Bartlett, *From Egypt to Palestine*, New York, 1879, p. 179ff. "In ordinary times many a caravan crossed the head of the Gulf at low ebb before the Suez Canal was built; and Napoleon, deceived by the tidal wave, attempted to cross it on returning from Ayun Musa in 1789, and nearly met the fate of Pharaoh." Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, p. 157.

[2] Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, London, 1869, vol. i. p. 95, says: "The army, not the King, was engulfed; and in fact....Pharaoh Mernephtah survived this disaster and died in his bed."

of the great nations of antiquity to record their defeats.[1]

[1] The Egyptian tradition gives quite a different account of the Exodus. According to it Amenophis had desired to behold the gods. He was told that he must remove all leprous and impure persons from the land. He therefore banished about 80,000 such persons to the quarries east of the Nile. Among these were priests. They were afterwards allowed to dwell in the ruined city of Avaris. There they formed a state under the guidance of Osarsiph, a priest of On, who gave them laws, formed them into an army, and made a treaty with the shepherds who had fled several centuries before to Syria. For a time they were successful against the Egyptians, but finally the King drove them out of the land to Syria, after he had killed many of them. This account, found in the writings of Manetho, as preserved by Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, i: 28–31, is doubtless a perversion of the true facts of the case.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRAINING OF THE NATION.

§ 13. *The Wilderness.*

The wilderness of Sinai is a triangle measuring about one hundred and fifty miles across the base, which lies on the Mediterranean, and one hundred and ninety and one hundred and thirty miles respectively on either side, with a total area of eleven thousand six hundred square miles.[1] In the words of Professor Schaff:[2] "It is a vast and irregular limestone plateau, which extends along the southern boundary of Palestine from Gaza and the Mediterranean in the west to the Dead Sea in the east, and projects southward like a wedge into the Sinaitic peninsula as this itself projects into the Red Sea."

At first sight scarcely anything can be more barren and inhospitable in its general appearance than the wilderness of the wandering. While its rocky mountains are grand in their varied colors,[3] they afford no sustenance, and the upper parts are only covered here and there with parched herbage.

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[1] Cf. Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 583.

[2] *The Desert of the Exodus*, New York, 1872, pp. 28-29. Cf. *Through Bible Lands*, New York, 1878, pp. 199-200.

[3] Palmer, *Ibid*, p. 36; cf. the English edition of Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, London, 1873, in which, by means of the maps, he attempts to represent "the actual colouring."

Giving full credit to God's miraculous provision for the Israelites, the question arises how their cattle (Ex. xii, 32; xxiv, 4, 5; Num. xi, 22) could be sustained in such a barren wilderness. But it is the concurrent testimony of scholars and travelers that the wilderness of Sinai was once more productive than it is now.[1] The same causes which have worked disastrously in Palestine have been active here, while others have been superadded. The destruction of trees extending even to the present time, which are consumed for charcoal to pay taxes, and the ruthless mismanagement and neglect of the country by the sons of the desert, have contributed to destroy the verdure, although at present the wilderness of the wandering is inhabited by Bedouins,[2] who can muster over one thousand guns for their marauding excursions, and who have considerable flocks and herds. Hence, it is undoubtedly true that the Israelites had sufficient pasturage for their sheep and oxen.

§ 14. *The Journey to Sinai.*

The journey to Sinai lasted more than two months (Ex. xix, 1). It is now possible to trace, with a good degree of certainty, the way which they probably took while traveling to that mountain, although Ritter has pronounced their course, after leaving Sinai, as lying through a *terra incognita*. The Israelites found the difficulties of the

[1] These testimonies are gathered in *Ingersoll and Moses*, Chicago, 1880, pp. 101-106.

[2] See Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, New York, 1872, p. 240.

way hard to bear. (Ex. xiv, 10-12; xv, 23; xvi, 2-3). For the first six weeks (Ex. xvi, 1-4) they seem to have subsisted on such provisions as they brought with them, and as the country afforded, but after that God supplied them with manna, which was miraculously continued to them until their entrance into Canaan. (Josh. v. 12). Besides the dangers and fatigues of the way, before reaching Sinai, they were attacked at Rephidim by the Amalekites, who were defeated under Joshua. (Ex. xvii, 8-16.)

§ 15. *Mount Sinai and the Giving of the Law.*

In deciding which of the peaks of the Sinai group is the mountain of the law, we are to look for the mountain that could be touched (Ex. xix, 12) and for a plain of sufficient size, which could accommodate a congregation of more than two millions. These conditions are admirably fulfilled in Ras Susafeh and the Er Rahah, which lies at its base, and would furnish a meeting place for more than two millions of people, by actual measurement.[1]

The question is raised by the critics as to the original form of the law, since there are two versions of it, one in Exodus (xx, 3-17), the other in Deuteronomy (v, 7-21). The one in Deuteronomy presents a longer form of some of the commandments. It does not seem unlikely, then, that the decalogue as originally given may have been in briefer form than in either record.

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[1] Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, New York, 1872, p. 102.

Some Egyptian scholars claim that the ten commandments were derived from the Egyptians.[1] While there are points of striking similarity between the moral law of the Egyptians and the precepts of the decalogue, yet it by no means follows that they are from the same source, except as God has written His law in the hearts of men as well as on tables of stone.

§ 16. *Traces of Egyptian Influence in the Ritual and the Sacred Personages.*

It is idle to suppose that Israel could have dwelt hundreds of years in Egypt without being influenced to some extent by the political and religious institutions of the Egyptians.

According to the theory of the critics, all those accounts which are given in the Pentateuch of a ritual, a priesthood, etc., among the Israelites, have come from a time subsequent to the Babylonian exile, and are the invention of some Jewish scribe. This theory asserts that there never was a Tabernacle in the wilderness, but that the description of that structure was taken from the Temple of Solomon.[2]

But there are certain indications in the ritual system which form a connecting link between the land of the Pharaohs and the wilderness of Sinai. Not to speak of the worship of the golden calf, which is thought to have been derived from some

[1] Brugsch, *Aegypten unter den Pharaonen*, p. 25; cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, vol. i, p. 13.

[2] Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 38, 362 f.

other source,[1] there are certainly correspondences between the laws for purification among the Egyptians and certain parts of the Israelitish ritual.[2] Besides the latest development of the priesthood, as found in the Elohistic Tora with high priest, priests, and Levites, reminds us of the gradation and high position that we find among the Egyptian priests.[3]

Nor is it perhaps accidental that while Solomon's Temple was built by a Tyrian (1 Kings, vii., 14-45)

[1] The weight of tradition, which has been followed by the great majority of modern scholars, has been in favor of a derivation from an Egyptian source in the worship of Apis, but Baudissin (b. 1847), Professor of Theology in Marburg, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1876, p. 137 f, holds that it was not an imitation of the Egyptian worship of Apis, but a relic of old Hebrew heathenism. So, too, Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 337, and others. Still it seems to us that this may be regarded as an open question.

[2] Cf. Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, ii., 37: "They are religious to excess. . . . They wear linen garments, which they are specially careful to have always freshly washed. They practice circumcision for the sake of cleanliness. . . . The priests shave their whole body every other day, that no lice or any other impure things may adhere to them when they are engaged in the service of the gods. Their dress is entirely of linen. . . . They bathe twice every day in cold water, and twice each night."

It appears that the Israelites must have conformed to these habits of cleanliness. We find this illustrated in the case of Joseph, who, strictly in accordance with the Egyptian custom, gave "changes of raiment" to his brethren (Gen. xlv., 22), and in the fact that slaves, "so soon as they were employed in the service of this civilized people . . . were obliged to conform to the cleanly habits of their masters." See Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1842, vol. iii., pp. 358-359. Cf. The laws of purification for the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv., 8–9), where we are told that he is to shave all the hair off his head and his beard and his eyebrows, etc. This, taken in connection with the Egyptian rites of purification, is a striking coincidence. So, too, the Levites were to shave all their flesh at the time of their consecration (Num. viii., 7. Cf. Delitzsch, *Die Aussatz-Thora des Levitikus*, in Luthardt's Zeitschrift, 1880, p. 4, and *The Presbyterian Review*, New York, 1882, p. 586.

[3] Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1882, vol. i., pp. 447 ff.; cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, New York, 1878, vol. i. pp. 172 ff.

architect, Israel in the time of the Exodus was not only able to construct the Tabernacle and its furniture from Egyptian gold, silver and brass, but that the women had doubtless learned the art of spinning and dyeing blue, purple, scarlet and fine twined linen (Ex. xxxv., 25) from the Egyptians, in which the latter especially excelled;[1] and that there were architects, taught, to be sure, of God (Ex. xxxvi., 1), but who were doubtless trained in the great architectural school of antiquity.[2]

§. 17. *The Covenant of God with Israel.*

Second only in importance to the giving of the law, and closely connected with it, was the establishment of God's covenant with His people (Ex. xxiv., 1-8). Hitherto they had been His people, in fact, but there had been no public recognition of it. A covenant had been made more than four centuries before between God and Abraham, by which God had assured him that his seed should possess the land of Canaan (Gen. xv., 4-18; Ex. ii., 24; vi., 3-5).

Now for the first time in the history of Israel God entered into covenant with them. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. xix.-xxiv.) was read in the audience of the people, and they solemnly promised to keep all its stipulations (xxiv., 7), and then the blood of

[1] Wilkinson, *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 164, says: "It is evident that the color was imparted to the threads previous to the cloth being made . . . as was the case with the threads used by the Israelites." Cf. Rawlinson, *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 501.

[2] The highest perfection of Egyptian architecture was reached during the time in which Israel was in Egypt, *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 351.

the burnt offerings and peace offerings was sprinkled, half of it on the altar (vs. 5-6) and half of it on the people (vs. 8), to represent the solemnity and binding character of the engagement which was entered into between God and His people.

This act constituted the theocracy; God was thus openly recognized as the enthroned sovereign of His people (Ex. xxiv., 9-17; cf. xix., 6). Heretofore we have no record that He punished them for their murmuring and rebellion (Ex. xiv., 11-13; xv., 23-25; xvi., 2-12; xvii., 1-7), but from this time He visited chastisement and punishment upon them (Ex. xxxii., 7-10; Num. xi., 1-3, 18-20, 31-33; xii., 1-15.

§ 18. *Rebellion against God's Authority after the Conclusion of the Covenant.*

The rebellion against God's authority consisted in a rejection of His appointed instruments and of His guidance as revealed through them. It had respect to the authority of the constituted head of the state and of the priesthood.

The rebellion of the people against the leadership of Moses found expression on several occasions. At one time in the opposition of Miriam and Aaron (Num, xii, 1-15), at another in that of the people (Num. xiv, 2-4; xvi, 1-3, 41; xxi, 5). In every case but one (Num. xx, 3-5) God manifested his displeasure in visiting the parties with punishment.

The people had not been accustomed to any such sacerdotal system among themselves as we find de-

scribed in the Middle Books of the Pentateuch. It had been the custom among the patriarchs, so far as we can infer, that the one who was at the head of a family could act as priest (Gen. viii, 20; xii, 8) and at the time the covenant with Israel was sealed the eldest sons probably performed this service (Ex. xxiv, 5), hence there was an impatience on the part of some of the people when certain persons were set apart for this special work. The result of this feeling was the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and others (Num. xvi, 1, 9-11), in which the malcontents miserably perished (Num. xvi, 31-33).

§ 19. *The Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant.*

It was suitable that the King should have His royal tent from which His commands should be issued. This was the Tabernacle, in which was the ark of the covenant, which subsequently contained the ten commandments on the tables of stone—God's law; the rod of Aaron, which budded—the symbol of an established priesthood; and a pot of manna—the symbol of God's miraculous power (Heb. ix, 4; cf. Ex. xvi, 33-34; Num. xvii, 10; Ex. xl, 20.) Over these symbols was the mercy seat, above which He was wont to manifest Himself. Before the Tabernacle sacrifices were offered, indicating that the suppliant deserved to die in the place of the victim who was slain in his stead.

§ 20. *The Route of the Israelites from Sinai to the Promised Land.*

Scholars have not yet been able to identify the stations satisfactorily, of which a list is furnished by the great lawgiver himself (Num. xxxiii, 2). The Israelites seem to have visited Kadesh twice (Num. xiii. 26; xxxiii, 36). They reached the borders of the Promised Land during the first half of the second year.

Twelve spies were sent out to examine the land (Num. xiii, 1-16). They praised its fertility (ver. 27), but discouraged the people by the account which they gave of the gigantic character of the inhabitants, and of the unhealthiness of the country (vs. 31-33).

The people, therefore, rebelled against the command of God (Num.xiv, 1-4), and repented too late, only to suffer defeat for their presumption in attacking their enemies when God was not with them (vs. 40-45).

§ 21. *The Conclusion of Israel's History in the Wilderness.*

From the point of view of the sacred historian, the events of the next thirty-eight years are not worth recording.

After the unbelieving generation had passed away, Israel was once more on the confines of the Promised Land (Num. xx., 1; cf. 22–23), and reached Mount Hor, where Aaron died (vs. 23–29). While at Kadesh they might have entered Palestine

from the west, through the territory of the Philistines, but God led them around the land of Edom (xxi., 4; cf. xx., 14–21) and Moab to the east of the Jordan. On passing Moab they encountered an obstacle on the part of the Amorites, who had refused them the right of way (Num. xxi., 21–23), and were defeated in their lower kingdom, first under Sihon (ver. 24), and then in the upper kingdom, under Og (ver. 35). Thus the land of Gilead fell into the hands of the Israelites. Hence, passing over the events which occurred in connection with Balaam (Num. xxii.–xxv., xxxi., see ver. 16), Moses yielded to the request of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and provided them with possessions on the east side of the Jordan (Num. xxxii., 1–33).

After these events, Moses, in prospect of his own death, urges the keeping of the law upon the people, as we find it in the Book of Deuteronomy (i., 1; xxxi., 9); and then, after he had viewed the Land of Promise (xxxiv., 1–4), died as God had said, without entering it, because he had failed to honor God at Meribah (Num. xx., 12–13; Deut. iii., 25–27).

CHAPTER V.

ISRAEL'S CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

§ 22. *The Inhabitants of the Country.*[1]

The Promised Land was popularly known as the land of Canaan, which properly signifies lowland, and, strictly speaking, was confined to the country to the west of the Jordan, while the country to the east of that river was not infrequently and more accurately distinguished as Gilead (Num. xxxii., 29–32; xxxiii., 51; xxxv., 14; Josh. xxii., 9, 11, 13, 15).

At the time of the conquest the aboriginal inhabitants, the Emims, Horims, Zamzummims, etc. (Deut. ii., 10–12; 20–21), had mostly passed away. The land, besides the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, included five (Ex. xiii., 5), six (Ex. iii., 8, 17), seven (Deut. vii., 1), or ten tribes (Gen. xv., 19–21), which were closely related. They were sometimes classed as Canaanites, while at other times the Canaanites were considered as only one of their number.

It is very likely that in the time of Abraham they were not settled so thickly, but five centuries later they had increased to such an extent that the

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[1] I am especially indebted for the following statements to Dillmann's admirable article, *Kenaan, Kenaaniter*, in Schenkel's *Bibel Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1871, vol. iii., p. 513ff.

heights were crowned with walled cities, and the land was full of them.

To the south were the rough mountaineers, the Amorites (Num. xiii., 29; Josh. xi., 3), who had made conquests to the east of the Jordan shortly before Moses' time, and had founded two powerful kingdoms, one of Sihon, the other of Og.

In contradistinction to these were the Canaanites proper, or lowlanders, who dwelt along the coast. To the north, in Syria, was the powerful nation of the Hittites; and, not to mention the position of other nations, in the neighborhood of Jerusalem were the Jebusites. It is supposed that these peoples, were little inferior to the Egyptians in civilization, and that with them they possessed the art of writing.

But notwithstanding their civilization they were very low in the moral scale. The Scriptures allude to their abominable vices, which appear in their worship (Lev. xviii., 19–25; Deut. xii., 30–31), and declare that the land was ready to spue them out. They were divided, with the exception of the Amorites and Hittites, into petty kingdoms or republics.

It was no light matter, however, for the Israelites to invade a country which was so thoroughly fortified, which had walled cities, iron chariots, and whose people were skilled in the art of war.

§ 23. *The General.*

The name of the commander of the hosts of the Israelites, who was from the tribe of Ephraim (1

Chron., vii., 27), was originally Hoshea (Salvation, Num. xiii., 8), but was afterwards changed by Moses to Joshua (Jehovah is salvation, ver. 16). He was not a man of words but of action. He does not suffer in comparison with any general that Israelitish history affords. He was as true in his adherence to the religion of Jehovah (Josh. xxiv., 14-15), as he was brave in fighting for his country.

§ 24. *The Campaign.*

Before the beginning of the war of conquest he sends out two spies, who visit Jericho, are favorably received by Rahab (Josh. ii., 1-3), and who learn that the hearts of the people are failing them for fear of the Israelites (vs. 9-11).

At the very commencement of the campaign God works a miracle in behalf of the people. The Jordan was overflowing its banks, so that it was impossible for the people to ford it (Josh. iii, 15). God stops the course of the river some miles above Jericho (ver. 16), and the rest of the waters flowing to the sea, leave an empty river bed as far as the eye can reach.

Although this manifestation would doubtless be sufficient to fill the minds of the inhabitants with fear, yet the people were within walls which the Israelites could not hope to scale. Hence God works a miracle which would tend to strike terror into the hearts of the people and encourage the Israelites (Josh. vi., 6-21). Joshua next won a victory over Ai, and after the treaty which the Gibeonites secured through fraud (Josh. ix.), he

waged the battle with the five kings (Joshua x., 9-27), which Stanley[1] affirms "is one of the most important in the history of the world," where Joshua, according to an ancient poet quoted from the Book of Jasher (ver. 13), bids sun and moon stand still until he has obtained a complete victory over his enemies. This he followed up by other victories until, about the end of six years, he had conquered six nations and thirty-one kings. (Josh. xii., 8-24).

REMARK 1.—The Book of Joshua is entirely rejected by Stade and other modern critics as a source of history, on account of the wonderful things that are related in it, and for other reasons. And Joshua is dismissed from the realm of sober history as a mythical creation. But how, we may ask, did Israel become possessed of these strongly fortified cities without the miraculous interference of which we read? We cannot doubt that Ewald is right when he says:[2] "It is unquestionable that this first irruption in Canaan under Joshua was decisive for all future time, and that the Canaanites were never able in the succeeding ages to rally permanently from the losses and disasters which they underwent."

REMARK 2.—Strictures have been made from the earliest times upon God's command to destroy all the inhabitants of Canaan (Deut. vii., 2-5; xx., 16-18; Josh. xi., 11-12). It is certain, however, that they were tainted with a moral syphilis (Lev. xviii., 21-25), which rendered all contact with them ruinous

[1] *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, New York, 1864, p. 266.

[2] The *History of Israel*, London, 1876, vol. ii., p. 241.

to the people (Num. xxv., 1-8; Deut. xii., 29-32; cf. Judg. ii., 2-3), whom God had set apart to be the people of salvation ; and as a wise physician will rather amputate a limb than lose the life of a patient, so God in His kindness to the world, who were to be blessed through His people, cut them off.

REMARK 3.—We need not perplex ourselves as to the arrest of the world in its course, so that Joshua might have a longer day for the conquest of his enemies. Loyalty to the Word does not require us to take this poetic statement literally, although it doubtless seemed to Joshua that the day was supernaturally lengthened.[1]

§ 25. *The Division of the Land.*

Critics have not only ridiculed the idea that Canaan should have been a *tabula rasa* for distribution among the tribes, but have pointed out the contradiction between the promises made as to the extent of territory (Gen. xv. 18; Ex. xxiii. 31; Num. xxxiv; Josh. i. 4, cf. 1 Kings. iv. 21), and the actual fulfilment (Josh. xiii. 1–6). This promise, however, was made conditionally (Josh. xxiii. 12–13). There is certainly nothing unreasonable in the representation that Israel under Joshua was completely victorious over its enemies (Josh. xxi. 43–45), and in the supposition that those same enemies reconquered territory which at first was taken from them[2] (Josh. xviii. 11–13; Judg. i. 27–35). Moreover, the account does not represent that the

[1] Cf. *Ingersoll and Moses*, pp. 21-22.

[2] Ewald, Ibid, Vol. ii, p. 258, says: "There is no doubt that Joshua, during the first years of the entrance into Canaan, sub-

country was entirely denuded of its inhabitants, when the districts were assigned by lot, but that some of those thus assigned remained to be conquered (Josh. xiii. 6, etc.).

Although the priests and Levites were nominally without inheritance among their brethren, yet forty-eight cities were set apart for their residence (Josh. xxi. 13–41). Modern criticism asserts that these cities never existed except on paper. It is true that no account is given of them in the historical books as priestly cities, except in the Book of Chronicles, which here has no independent authority because it quotes from the Book of Joshua. Yet there are casual references in the history to some of them, which, from their undesigned character, support the view that they really existed. The Levite, who is mentioned in Judg. xix. ff., lived on the sides of Mount Ephraim,—perhaps in Shechem, which was a Levitical city (Josh. xxi. 20, 21). So, too, the father of Samuel, who is mentioned by the Chronicler as a Levite, descended from the family of Kohath (1 Chron. vi. 7–13, E. v. 22–28) is spoken of as being from Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. i. 1). This coincides with the statement that the children of Kohath had Shechem with her surrounding pasturage in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 21). Another marked but unintended coincidence is found in the mention of Beth-Shemesh, in the First Book of

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dued the country on every side. . . . It is very possible that in the first terror of surprise the Philistines, and . . . the rest of the Phœnicians may have paid homage (although these last could never again be subdued); for the memory that the whole land between Egypt and Lebanon belonged properly to Israel, was never wholly lost."

Samuel (1 Sam. vi. 9–15). This city, according to the Book of Joshua, was given to the sons of Aaron (Josh. xxi 16). If there is any point to the narrative at all, it is that the two new-milch cows which had been selected to draw the ark of the Lord, contrary to their natural instinct, under the divine guidance left their calves, which had been shut up at home, and carried the ark to the priestly city of Beth-Shemesh, where the Levites, among whom were doubtless sons of Aaron, were ready to receive it. But, perhaps, most important of all is the two-fold mention of the priestly city of Anathoth, whither Solomon dismissed Abiathar from the high priesthood (1 Kings, ii. 26), and where Jeremiah's father, who was a priest, resided[1] (Jer i. 1).

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There are three things which we venture to maintain in closing: (1) that internal criticism cannot be decisive as to the beginning and course of Israel's history; (2) that further investigations and studies concerning the ancient peoples of civilization, such as the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians and Hittites, as well as respecting the Holy Land, will shed great light on Israel's history; (3) that the traditional construction of history, as interpreted by the present state of these studies, is far more probable, than that of some of the modern critics which ignores the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua for the times which they claim to represent.

[1] See my article, *Priests and Priesthood in the Old Testament* in Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, New York, 1884, Vol. iii, pp. 1922-1926.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

PRESENT STATE

OF

NEW TESTAMENT STUDY.

BY

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EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

NEW TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *Extent of the Field.*

The New Testament department divides itself into: I. New Testament Introduction, which includes: (1) The origin of the several Books; (2) their collection, or, The Canon. II. The New Testament Text, which includes: (1) Manuscripts; (2) Versions; (3) Patristic Quotations. III. New Testament Interpretation, which includes: (1) Lexicons; (2) Grammars; (3) Translations; (4) Hermeneutics; (5) Exegesis. IV. New Testament History, which includes: (1) The New Testament Times; (2) The Life of Christ; (3) Apostolic History. V. New Testament Theology, which includes the recorded teachings: (1) Of Christ Himself; (2) Of the Apostles, and other New Testament writers.

This general order we shall follow, but only so far as it brings us within the scope of the latest New Testament literature, touching on salient points, perhaps the same points in different connections, glancing even at some topics which lie beyond our proper province, in order to take our present bearings. The great themes suggested must be reserved for future discussion.

CHAPTER I.

NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

§ 2. *Recent Works.*

It is hard to mend old mistakes by new scholarship. Since Wycliffe, we have spoken of "The Bible" instead of "The Scriptures," mistaking the neuter-plural for a feminine-singular, putting too much stress on the Book as a whole, and too little on the diversity and progress of its parts. Since Tertullian and especially since Jerome, through the influence, too, of Wycliffe, Luther and Tyndale, we have spoken of the Old or New "Testament" instead of "Covenant," perpetuating on its very title-page the false legal notion of a "last will" in the written words of the living God. Plumptre[1] touches these and kindred errors. He shows, too, that in forming the Canon the authority of the church "rested on the previous exercise of free inquiry and private judgment." He affirms that "not a single autograph original of any book is known to exist now, nor does any writer of the second or third century say that he had seen such an original." But his chapters which relate to the Greek text, the origin of the first three Gospels, and the harmony of the Gospels, are less helpful than those which treat of the English versions. This is a good book for beginners.

[1] *An Introduction to the New Testament*, London, 1883.

Better should be the Croall Lectures by Charteris, of Edinburgh,[1] author of *Canonicity*, though the latter work was drawn mainly from Kirchhofer. He admits that the New Testament books "do not enable us to ascertain the nature or the extent of inspiration;" that they fall into ranks, or were inspired "with different degrees of force and fulness;" that they contain human elements and minor errors, while yet they are "the Word of God." But the word inspiration is to him "a lock, not a key;" for he *assumes* too much. Do the books "*claim* for themselves unity?" He abounds in overstatements, as when he says of the original writings, "Men ceased to refer to them as anything special;" or of the writers, "Every one of them asserts that he writes by inspiration." "They claimed for themselves that they had authority to write, some claiming it for themselves alone, and others for the whole, of which they form a part;" or of the uncanonical books, as Clement's Epistle, "They disclaim any right to a place of authority, and testify to the preeminence of the books of the New Testament;" or of the canonical books, "There is no trace of any Epistle being accepted on any other ground than its apostolic authority." He takes the Gospels as coming before Paul's Epistles, the epistle of Barnabas as depending on John's Gospel, Basilides as quoting from John's Gospel, Simon Magus as the founder of Gnosticism, the New Testament Canon as long closed and ceasing to be a matter of dispute with Irenæus, the Syriac version as early in the second century,

[1] *The New Testament Scriptures*, New York, 1882.

the Muratorian fragment as showing how men thought in the middle of the second century—on each point going beyond, if not without, evidence. The book is fresh in style, rich in suggestion, but quite disappointing, because so uncritical.

Zöckler's *Handbuch*[1] attempts too much. So far as concerns its one hundred pages by Schultze on the "Introduction and Biblical History of the New Testament," it might have been written twenty years ago, since it is aimed so much against the Tübingen school and attends so little to present difficulties. How strange that it puts Horace Bushnell into the English church, and announces the Revised Version as the official English translation! Perhaps, however, it is still timely, for Samuel Davidson, in the second edition of his *Introduction*,[2] attempts to revive Baur's obsolete views, putting Peter, Paul, Luke and John into the second century.

§ 3. *Origin of the Gospels.*

Modern criticism is bewildered in its attempts to solve this problem, nor have the latest books shed much light upon it. We cannot follow Gregg in his theory that the Synoptics were anonymous in their original materials and of no higher authority than popular tradition, John only being "no compiler's tissue of floating anecdotes and sayings;" nor Holsten, that there were "three original yet unwritten Gospels," Matthew being worked over into Mark, and both into Luke; nor Jacobsen, that there was

[1] *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, 1883.

[2] *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 1883.

an original Mark on which Matthew and then Luke depended; nor Bickersteth, that Mark depended on Matthew; nor Thoma, that John's Gospel owed its genesis to an extreme *tendency*, like an historic fiction; nor Seydel, that Christianity was influenced in its origin by Buddhism, whose teachers from the far east of Asia brought what was worked up with the earlier Matthew and Mark into the later Luke and pseudo-John, tracing, he thinks, fifty-one points of contact between it and Buddhism, as our Lord's fasting in the desert—coolest, saddest theory!

Ewald puts an early Mark before Matthew, but concedes the genuineness of John's Gospel, as outshining the other three, and throwing on them the light they needed. Keim puts Mark after Matthew and Luke. Weiss[1] devotes two hundred pages to the *sources* of the Gospels.

His strong points are, as we state them, (1) that we cannot fall back from the teachings of the Apostles upon what Christ himself taught, because all we know about Christ depends on the testimony of the Apostles; (2) that what is said in the New Testament about their inspiration refers to their oral preaching; (3) that the original source of our Gospels was the oral apostolic tradition; (4) that the common documentary source of our Greek Gospels was what Matthew wrote of our Lord's sayings as they had taken shape at Jerusalem among the primitive disciples about A. D. 67; (5) that our Greek Matthew cannot be a mere translation of the Hebrew or Aramaic Matthew, since it contains so

[1] *The Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1883.

much more, but was written by one called Matthew, because it incorporated best the original Matthew, and was written with the didactic purpose of proving the Messiahship of Jesus; (6) that the Fourth Gospel was written undoubtedly by the Apostle John between twenty and twenty-five years after the Apocalypse, and is historically more probable than the Synoptics, where it differs from them, but was written from a higher point of view. His weak points are, (1) that the variations in the Gospels were not oral and accidental, but intentional and literary; (2) that Mark being a sort of "Boswell to Peter's Johnson," is a witness of less value than Matthew, though of the first rank in vividness; (3) that Luke is still less correct and credible; (4) that our Greek Matthew was written after the fall of Jerusalem, by some Jew of the Dispersion; (5) that while the trustworthiness of our information concerning Christ was not affected by any credulity or enthusiasm of his disciples, it was affected by their occasional failure of memory, or tendency to hold fast only what made the deepest impression, or distance of time and place, or liability to modify what they used for didactic purposes; (6) that, since it was about forty years after the death of Jesus before his brief public life was recorded, and since his life went back of this more than thirty years, there were in it legendary elements, particularly in the appearance of angels, or in the story of his mother and forerunner, though there is no myth or pure product of fancy, much less any conscious invention, as in the apocryphal gospels.

In Holland there is a strange revival of the mythical theory of the origin of the Gospels. Loman, of Amsterdam, thinks that Jesus never lived, but was the mere embodiment of the Jewish idea of the Messiah! Forsooth, Josephus never named Jesus, Paul's four undisputed letters are not genuine, Paul hellenized Christianity by preaching the Messiah-idea, which long after A. D. 70, freed itself from Judaism and became universally human. "The whole Pauline literature is a product of post-apostolic γνῶσις." As Strauss overthrew the early exegetical rationalism, so Loman would overthrow the rationalism of Strauss, by a symbolic instead of a rationalistic presentation of Jesus. Some have sympathized with him in this attempt. But the Dutch theologians must condemn it. For between the Synoptics and the early church history there was not time enough for an idea to change into a fact, or for a real person to become so purely symbolical. Rover denies the alleged fact as to Josephus, who not only refers to Christ in a passage which, though disputed, cannot be wholly rejected, but mentions James as a brother of him called Christ. Scholten wrote against Loman in 1882, defending the four Pauline Epistles. But this blind man's theory is still debated.

Ladd's elaborate volumes[1] include *A Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the New Testament.* He describes the synoptic Gospels as "works of composite contents," no one of which, in its present form, can be traced to an apostle; their origin, as

[1] *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*, New York, 1883.

"the most wonderful of all literary problems;" their agreement and difference, as "the result of a previous process of preaching, writing, hearing and reflecting;" our Lord's discourses in John as "fused and shaped in the reflective consciousness of an apostolic eye-and-ear witness."

Perhaps the best book for those whose historical faith in the Gospels has been shaken is Wace's Lectures on *The Gospel and Its Witnesses*,[1] which exhibits the real character and results of modern criticism in respect to the authenticity of the Gospel, and the credibility of its main facts, as our Lord's birth, name, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension, future coming, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. He takes Renan as a witness hostile to the belief of the church, and cites his extraordinary admissions, viz: as to the four Gospels, "They go back to the age which followed the death of Jesus;" and as to the Fourth Gospel, "We must choose between two hypotheses; either to recognize John, the son of Zebedee, as the author of the Fourth Gospel, or to regard this Gospel as an apocalyptic writing, composed by some one who wished to pass it off as the work of John, the son of Zebedee."

Plainly, much of this destructive criticism is self-destructive. Much of it, too, is based on the subjectivity of the scholarly critic rather than on a solid foundation of fact. The assumption, for instance, that the fourth Evangelist differs from the Synoptists in regard to our Lord's death and resurrection, is not affirmed by Hase or Schultze, by Fisher or Ladd.

[1] New York, 1883.

The fundamental question is, did the eye-and-ear witnesses, whoever they were, preserve and record the truth? John declares his truthfulness (xix. 35; xxi. 24). We may presume, with Weiss, that they shaped their words with the freedom with which they quoted the Old Testament in the New. "First, the words spoken by Jesus in Aramaic were repeated or translated substantially in Greek, and repeated for the purpose, not of authenticating, but of using them in exhortation or edification. In being grouped and combined for this purpose they would be somewhat modified. The Fourth Gospel is the last stage in such a formative process." We may "freely admit," with Schaff, "that John so reproduced the words of his Master as to mould them unconsciously into his own type of thought and expression," since he does not claim to have reproduced them literally, nor to have kept them in memory at his distance of time and place by precise and constant repetition. But how much he reports from his own distinct recollection of our Lord's words is of little account if he was "so conformed to the mind of Christ that his own thoughts and words faithfully reflected the teachings of his Master;" or if he was guided by the Holy Spirit in that subjective process by which God's earthly revelation of Himself was perfected.

§ 4. *Origin of The Acts.*

Special study has been given of late to The Acts by Nösgen,[1] who goes deeply into its sources,

[1] *Kommentar über die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, 1882.

judging it by the last eight chapters, holding that it was perhaps a private letter to Theophilus, written before A. D. 70, that its object was to describe the progress of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, and that Paul's speeches in it are genuinely Pauline, though the apostolic speeches were partly moulded by Luke; by Schmidt,[1] also, whose first volume, covering chs. xiii-xxviii., except xv. as written earliest, elaborately defends its authorship by Luke, and its strictly historic character, basing the argument on the "we" portions, as written evidently by a companion of Paul. Hilgenfeld concedes them to be probably the words of Luke. Schürer thinks this ground untenable as to the other parts of the Acts. But Wace says, "The 'we' affords internal evidence of unique value. If it was written by a friend and companion of Paul, the chief theories of Baur and his school fall to the ground." Even Renan said in 1866,[2] "I persist in believing that the final composition of the Acts is due to the disciple of St. Paul, who says "we." "The author of the Third Gospel and of the Acts is in all reality Luke, the disciple of Paul." Eusebius names Paul as its author. Its Petrine part is the natural sequel to Mark's Gospel, and its Pauline to Luke's. How much of it came from Luke's own memory or diary, how much from Peter's, Paul's or John's, who can tell? What have we learned about its origin and composition from Baur to Zeller and Overbeck, or since Eckermann of the last century?

[1] *Die Apostelgeschichte, unter dem Hauptgesichtspunkte ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit kritisch und exegetisch bearbeitet*, 1882.

[2] *Les Apotres.*

It is well, however, that this central book, with its strategic points, has for the critics such a fresh and vital interest.[1]

The idea that Luke reported the apostolic speeches just as Greek and Roman historians from Thucydides down put speeches into the mouths of their chief personages, or just as Plato used Socrates as a mouth-piece for his own speculations, instead of recording the very words which the apostles spoke, is preposterous. He did not write in that fashion. He had already written a Gospel, in which he tells us how and why he wrote. If he made up the later apostolic speeches, he may have made up the earlier words of him who spake as "never man spake." But the preface to his Gospel shows that he meant throughout to draw up a narrative of well-attested historical facts. He tells us that he searched into and sifted the facts. He aimed at certain truth. He wrote more like a modern critic and compiler than like an ancient historian. If, therefore, he abridged the speeches of Peter and Paul or Stephen, and modified them or stamped them with his own literary style, he did not invent or construct them. What he did not hear and remember himself, he must have obtained from those who heard them and perhaps wrote them down at the time of delivery.

§ 5. *The Pauline Epistles.*

For the historical proof of Christianity, as all now agree, the best starting-point is Paul's four

[1] ***The End of Luke's Gospel and the Beginning of Acts***, a thoroughly critical essay by Dr. T. D. Woolsey, in ***Bibliotheca Sacra***, 1882.

undisputed Epistles. Baur said "There has never been the slightest suspicion of unauthenticity cast upon these four Epistles." Renan spoke of them as "uncontestable and uncontested." The author of *Supernatural Religion* accepts them "in the main, as genuine compositions of the Apostle Paul." Hilgenfeld accepts as genuine even the last two chapters of Romans, except the last three verses. Some of the recent works on Paul's life and writings are chiefly Introductions, as those of Pfleiderer,[1] Gräfe,[2] Loman,[3] Hofman[4] and Farrar,[5] because they relate so largely to preliminary questions.

Paul's *conversion*, however, is the fundamental fact in the argument. Can it be explained in a mere natural way? Pfleiderer favors the "vision-theory" of it, which was started by Baur and Strauss and advocated by Holsten. So does Lipsius in *A Short Protestant Commentary*. If we trace any preparation for it in Paul's previous life or supposed psychological antecedents, we cannot test their truth. This great moral miracle, as Lyttleton long ago urged, proves Christianity. Reuss says none too strongly, "All Paul's theology is, in ultimate analysis, the reflex of his own experience;" and Weiss, "Grace alone had saved him. From the experience of his life there must have spontaneously grown up the conception of Christianity as a new dispensation

[1] *Paulinische Studien, ueber Adresse, Zweck und Gliederung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer*, 1882.

[2] *Ueber Veranlassung und Zweck des Römerbrief's*, 1881.

[3] *Questiones Paulinæ*, 1882.

[4] *Die heilege Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhangeud unter sucht*, 1881.

[5] *The Life and Works of St. Paul. The Early Days of Christianity*, 1882.

of grace." Lumby in his *Popular Introduction* emphasizes the bearings of Paul's own experience on his epistles.

§ 6. *Epistle to the Hebrews.*

Holtzheuer[1] works over Hofmann on Hebrews, and with him, as also with Kay,[1] Heydt,[1] and Panek[1] represents a strange drift of the last ten years towards ascribing its authorship to Paul, though they show at most that it has a Pauline *source* in many of its ideas and expressions. Lünemann, Holtzmann and Hilgenfeld do not call it Paul's, nor does Schulze, who ascribes it to Apollos, nor does A. B. Davidson, though he holds, with W. R. Smith, to the vague notion that it was written for the Jews, not of Palestine, but of the "Dispersion."

§ 7. *The Catholic Epistles.*

The Catholic Epistles have received unusual attention; "James," with a marked disposition to call it the earliest of the New Testament books (Huther, Erdmann, Schaff, Weiss, Plumptre), and its doctrine no protest against Paul's but prior to it. Beyschlag has worked over Huther on James in Meyer's commentary. Holtzmann,[2] however, favors a much later date for it and ascribes it to a pseudo-James.

Peter and Jude too, from Keil,[3] who is positive that First Peter had Paul's Gentile converts as readers, and was written from Babylon on the Euphrates

[1] *Zu Hebr*, ix. 18–20, 1881. *The Speaker's Commentary. Exegetischer Kommentar zu neun Briefen des Apostels Paulus*, 1882. *In Epistolam beati Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos*, 1882.

[2] *Zur Zeitlage des Jacobusbriefes*, 1882.

[3] *Commentar über die Briefe des Petrus und Judas.*

instead of Rome. Of this last point Cook and others have shown the utter improbability. There is abundant patristic evidence against it. Eusebius[1] e. g. says, "Peter mentions Mark in his former Epistle, which they say that he composed at Rome itself and that he means this when he calls the city in a figurative kind of way Babylon." Keil stoutly defends, too, the authenticity of Second Peter, which is, by common consent, the weakest spot in our Canon—weakest, however, not as having least evidence in its favor, for it has more in amount than Second or Third John, but less in proportion to its length. Against those who reject it, from Calvin and Grotius, DeWette and Neander, Credner and Bleek, to Hutton, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, Godet and Edwin A. Abbott, its *canonicity*, which is accepted by Hug, Guericke, Alford, Weiss and Plumptre, is argued most ably by Lumby[2] and Warfield,[3] the latter of whom shows that it was known and used not only by Clement of Rome, and Clement of Alexandria, but probably by Hermas, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Barnabas, Theophilus of Antioch, and Melito of Sardis, thereby tracing it back to apostolic times. He refutes the theory of Abbott, that the author of Second Peter imitated Josephus, by showing how the striking resemblances between them may be explained in other ways. Back of all such reasoning, we feel the need of a more thorough understanding as to what constitutes a clear proof of

[1] Hist. Ecc., ii. xv. 2.

[2] *The Speaker's Commentary.*

[3] *The Southern Presbyterian Review, Jan.*, 1882 *and April*, 1883.

literary dependence. Lumby thinks that Jude borrowed from Peter; Abbott and Warfield think that Peter borrowed from Jude. How can such a question of priority be settled? Keil is content to say that probably Second Peter and Jude did not have the same readers.

§ 8. *The Pastoral Epistles.*

Lemme[1] contributes to the solving of their authorship, though he finds their genuineness only in the Pauline character of the admonitions in Second Timothy, i. 1—ii. 10, iv. 6–22, and agrees with Holtzmann that they were written later than Paul. Kölling[2] goes against Holtzmann, and argues the Pauline authorship of I. Timothy, from its linguistic peculiarities, showing that one-third of its ἅπαξ λεγόμενα express ideas that occur only here, and that the rest of them may indicate Paul's synonymic skill. Here we strike a question which underlies all such criticism. What if a writer uses a rare instead of a common word? What if he coins a unique word? Does he thereby lose his identity? Too much significance may be attached to strange and lonely words, at least after an interval of years, and in a brief letter. Kölling does not favor the theory of Paul's second imprisonment, but Schultze advocates it, and assigns to it Second Timothy.

[1] *Das echte Ermahnungschreiben des Apostels Paulus an Timotheus*, 1882.

[2] *Der erste Brief Pauli an Timotheus*, 1882.

§ 9. *The Revelation.*

The first New Testament book translated into English was the Apocalypse, A. D. 1356, which Wycliffe thought to be most needed in those troublous days. The most extreme negative criticism accepts it as genuine. The critics incline more and more to date it back of the destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Nero (Reuss, Westcott, Schaff, Farrar, Weiss). According to the latest, Völter,[1] it had a five-fold authorship, and took no less than 105 years in the writing, or from A. D. 65 to 170! But we cannot follow an author so arbitrary and fanciful.

[1] *Die Entstehung der Apokalypse*, 1883.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT.

§ 10. *Recent Works.*

The first Greek text of the entire New Testament printed for European use, was published at Basle, A. D. 1516. In it Erasmus was critic enough to omit First John, v. 7. Against the cry that textual criticism is dangerous, Bentley remarks as early as 1714, that "truth has no need to fear truth; that if the existence of the various readings is compatible with the Christian faith, the knowledge of their existence cannot be fatal to it." As a manual relating at once to the New Testament language, manuscripts, versions, patristic quotations, textual criticism, the history of the printed text in its three periods, or from Erasmus and Stephens to Bengel and Wetstein, the period of the Textus Receptus; from Griesbach to Lachmann, the transition from the Textus Receptus to the Uncial text; from Lachmann and Tischendorf to Westcott and Hort, the restoration of the primitive text; relating alike to the Authorized and to the Revised Version, combining facts with arguments, gathering up the latest literary and critical results, vindicating the Revision of 1881, yet suggesting not a few corrections and improvements, we turn to Schaff's *Companion*,[1]

[1] ***A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version***, New York, 1883. We pass by *Mombert's Handbook of the English Versions*, New York, 1883.

which is really his best book in the amount, variety and accuracy of its details. It owes much of its critical value to Professor Abbot, of Cambridge. It has an instructive chapter, by Professor Warfield, on "The Genealogical Method"; also a list of the printed editions of the Greek New Testament, by Dr. Reuss, of Strasburg, supplemented by a list of editions published since 1870, by Professor Hall, of Philadelphia, containing 251 more editions than that of Reuss, and estimating on the basis of a thousand for each edition that the total number of printed copies must have been over a million.

Professor Hall, aided by Profs. Abbot and Warfield, has brought out a Bibliography[1] of the Greek Testament as published in America, with two facsimile illustrations of the text of the *first* one, which was printed at Worcester in 1800, by Isaiah Thomas, and which he takes to be a reprint of the text of Mill. Incidentally, he shows that the Textus Receptus has been "perpetually juggled with," so that it is "rare to find two editions that agree exactly,"—a startling and humbling fact to those who still cling to it and shrink from the later critical text. He gives a minute account of the various Mill, Leusden, Griesbach, Stephanic, Knapp, Bloomfield, Hahn and miscellaneous editions, down to Westcott and Hort's in 1881, which is thought to represent the most advanced science, enumerating since 1800, 135 entire New Testaments, 105 partial editions, besides 17 whose date is not known. Greek scholars are very thankful for a book so scholarly.

[1] *Bibliography of the Greek New Testament, as published in America*, Philadelphia, 1883.

By far the most learned, elaborate and comprehensive work of its kind in English is the Third Edition of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*,[1] in which he has enlarged the editions of 1861 and 1874 without, however, supplying all their defects or correcting all their errors. He is indebted to Dean Burgon for a greatly increased list of cursive MSS., to Canon Wordsworth for work on the Latin MSS., and especially to Bishop Lightfoot for the revised section on the Egyptian Versions. He includes the MSS. belonging to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts; but he describes some cursives very imperfectly, and he omits to speak of some cursives, one of which, as Gregory says, is at Oriel College, Oxford, two at Holkham, England, and one at Munich, Germany. Defining his relations to the Revisers of 1881, who adopted a Greek text often at variance with his own, he concedes that "the text, as adopted by them, especially in passages of primary interest and importance, is far less one-sided than is generally supposed." He opposes Hort's system as "entirely destitute of historical foundation," while yet he admits the fundamental importance of "the study of grouping." We are glad to have him insist that a reading, "unless upheld by strong internal evidence, can hardly be adopted." But the non-expert is left in confusion by what he says in regard to the relative age and value of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. The experts discover, not only that he is unacquainted with some of the latest critical works, as those of Duchesne, Reuss, Ezra Abbot and Caspar René

[1] Cambridge, 1883.

Gregory, but that he clings to exploded errors in regard to the Syriac Versions and the Beza Editions. It is "plain" that a book which is chargeable with so many minor mistakes must be used with caution as a "standard book of reference."

Scrivener declares that no existing manuscript of the New Testament is written on papyrus. Still he says that "Tischendorf discovered in 1862 at St. Petersburg five or six leaves from St. Paul written on papyrus, and cites them on I. Cor. vi., 13-14: vii., 3, 13-14." Besides, there is a two-paged leaf of papyrus, defective yet readable, belonging to Theodore Graf, Vienna, which relates to Luke vi., 36-44 : x., 38-42, a minuscule cursive of the sixth century, which Wessely has compared with Tischendorf's seventh edition and with the Codex Sinaiticus.

Gebhardt and Harnack have just published the text of the Codex Rossanensis,[1] collated at Rossano, Calabria, in 1879, containing Matthew and Mark, with a few lacunae, according to Gebhardt ranging in date from A. D. 473 to 641, the third oldest MS. for the first part of Matthew, the fourth or fifth for other parts of it, with singular readings, yet similar in character to the oldest Greek MSS., and containing originally the four Gospels, as appears from its miniature pictorial Gospel in water colors, representing among its scenes the good Samaritan from Luke, the raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper, and the feet-washing from John. This stands first among the purple MSS. Gebhardt attempted to

[1] *Die Evangelien des Matthäus und des Marcus aus dem Codex purpureus Rossanensis.*

make a more perfect copy of it three years later, but was refused admission to the Archbishop's library. Scrivener says that "it gives the earliest Greek authority for the doxology in the Lord's Prayer," and that it ends abruptly at Mark xiv., 14.

§ 11. *The Present Outlook.*

Who now shall describe the cursives and group them with a true critical insight and exactness? Who discover and decipher those of them that yet remain unknown? Since Scholtz[1] the secret treasures of the old monasteries and libraries of Europe, if accessible, have not been thoroughly examined. In Italy and Greece and the Orient, if not in England itself, are doubtless unquarried mines of critical wealth. Waiting for the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf, which must extend ultimately to the cursives as well as uncials, we may hope at least that Gregory will apply his well-known critical zeal and acumen to the finding and testing of every lost MS. that can be brought to light.

As the authority of the old Syriac or Peshitto version, which Beza used first, and Tregelles most, for critical purposes, is somewhat diminished by the discovery of the still older Curetonian Syriac, published by Cureton in 1858, so may the authority of Wescott and Hort's text be undermined, if it can be shown that *Aleph* and B, on which they rely so much, are not independent witnesses. Cook claims that they were written carelessly at the same time and place in the workshop of

[1] *Biblisch kritische Reise*, 1818-1821.

Eusebius, A. D. 330-340. But this view not even Burgon accepts, though Tischendorf and Scrivener favor it. Abbot utterly repudiates it. We may presume, with Schaff, that they are "cousins, not sisters." Certainly it is not shown that these two are among the most depraved and corrupt MSS., but only that they may have had of late an undue ascendancy. Nor can it be shown that the later and fuller text is purer than the older and briefer. Those who grasp the main principles of Westcott and Hort appear to have a better sense of historic perspective than the earlier critics. We may be greatly dissatisfied in details, but we can no more return to the mere counting of ancient witnesses than to Ptolemy's system of the heavens.

Textual criticism may have much to lose from relaxed or rejected views of verbal inspiration, but it has much to gain by putting to the proof those words in which God's message comes, by discovering that they are exchangeable for other words, by breaking up the hard crusts of formal sentences, and by stirring men's minds, so that they can get a new grasp of the words and a better insight into their meaning. Should we not ask with Plumptre, "as a mere question of probability, who are more likely to be right—the Revisers of 1611, with their imperfect knowledge of MSS., their meagre lexicons, and their schoolboy grammars, or those of 1881, with the vast apparatus which they have inherited from the scholarship of the last three centuries?"

§ 12. *The Various Readings.*

Those who are distressed by the uncertainties of the sacred text should not only consider how little any important scriptural truth is affected by them, but how utterly untenable is that view of the infallibility of the Scriptures, which does not admit of such variants. Nor can these all be attributed confidently to the transcribers of the text. The fact, now generally conceded by the best critics, that during the first thirty years the Gospel existed only in an oral apostolic tradition, must be taken into account as well as the transcribing and multiplying of MSS.[1] At all events, if the authority of the Old Testament was preserved by the apostolic interpreters and expounders of it in those quotations from it, which they cite often so freely that we can hardly see how their words agree with the Greek or Aramaic originals, we may be sure that the New Testament will not lose its saving power on account of these textual inaccuracies.

Quotations,[2] by Professor Toy, of Cambridge, a book much needed, shows how the New Testament writers modified the Old Testament text, either unintentionally in quoting it from memory, or intentionally by adapting its form to their purposes, sometimes, though seldom, missing its meaning in their very desire to be faithful to it. He discusses their way of restating, abridging, condens-

[1] Card. Newman says, in *The Nineteenth Century*, February, 1884: "Unless we have the text as inspired men wrote it, we have not the divine gift in its fulness." But he speaks of the "gratuitous hypothesis of errors in transcription."

[2] *Quotations in the New Testament*, New York, 1884.

ing, expanding, combining, and applying those passages which were to them as household words. He distinguishes between them as free interpreters, sharing the method of their day, and as authoritative teachers for all time. He does not even assume that Jesus had as interpreter the authority which belonged to him as teacher. Here he runs close to the line of extreme peril. So when he speaks of "unbridled spiritualizing interpretation and arbitrary Messianic exegesis" in the Epistle to the Hebrews. He does not allow that the words of prophecy can have any double sense or higher meaning. He does not distinguish sharply between quotations and mere references. But he faces the facts, if not with perfect fairness. He takes up all the quotations in order. Without endorsing his most radical views, we feel certain that those who can hold to the New Testament, notwithstanding the freedom of its citations from the Old, can endure the strain of all the verbal variations in the New Testament text.

CHAPTER III.

NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION.

§ 13. *Lexicons.*

In place of Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon we look for Grimm's Clavis, which Professor J. H. Thayer is translating, and enlarging with his own critical comments and references. Instead of scattered monographs[1] on single words, phrases, synonyms, constructions, how much we need a completely revised Lexicon ! It will be a rich treasury.

For the use and meaning of the most important words in the New Testament, we turn, of course, to Cremer's *Lexicon*, of which the first German edition dates back to 1866, the second to 1872, and the third to 1881. The third English edition was translated from the second German, and published in 1880. We refer now to the third German edition.[2] Should it not soon be translated into English ? Its value as a " key to the essential and fundamental ideas of the New Testament " can hardly be exaggerated. It does not cover *all* the words, nor should it, like a Greek Lexicon ; for it gives the genetic relations, not of words, but *of ideas*, or if of words, of those which, as Trench says, are "emi-

[1] E. g., *The word Metanoia*, T. Walden, New York. Some of the best are found in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*.

[2] *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*, Gotha, 1883.

nently the *στοιχεῖα* of Christian theology," and on an inadequate grasp of which, in their real import, rests many a theological vagary. This third edition enlarges and improves the second more than the second did the first, at least in wealth of material. It has about 225 more pages and about 300 new words, besides nearly as many old words worked over. It makes constant reference to the LXX., and adds an index of Hebrew words. Still, we think, it might be more sharp and clear in defining words, and more condensed, if not better arranged, in its longer articles. And, at best, it is one man's opinion, so that we must guard at times against a large personal element. Then, as Schürer intimates, it is somewhat injured by a dogmatic bias. Its grand design is to illustrate "the language-moulding power of Christianity." But such words as *ἅγιος, ἄγγελος, βασιλεία,* and who can say how many, were moulded in meaning not so much within the Christian as within the earlier Jewish circles. Hellenistic Greek words and ideas come largely from Hellenistic Judaism. Does he not include among Christian ideas those which belonged to the Old Testament rather, or to the later Jewish traditional theology? Does he distinguish sharply enough between Jewish and Christian concepts, e. g., between *δικαιοσύνη* in Matthew and in Romans? or between God as the Father of Israel and as the Father of all men, especially of believers in Christ? or between the kingdom of God and of Heaven, as pictured by Daniel, Matthew, or John, and as explained by Christ? To take all that con-

nects itself with Christianity as belonging to it must be prejudicial to the right understanding of some important words. Still, there is no more indispensable or valuable work than Cremer's latest Lexicon.

§ 14. *Concordances.*

To find a passage by a Greek word, take Bruder or Young; by an important English word, take, instead of Cruden's, the *Students' Concordance*,[1] or better, Thom's *Complete Concordance*,[2] which embraces the marginal readings, English and American. It shows how some words, as "love," "grace," "righteous," have gained in the Revision. It cost an immense deal of labor, and is the only complete index to the vocabulary of the Revised Version accessible.

§ 15. *The English Translation.*

The Authorized Version of 1611 had at first no warrant for its authority except the printer's page. Tyndale's translation, that "model of good English," was itself, according to Ridley, "damned (condemned) by the consent of prelates and learned men." It had hard work to displace the Bishops' Bible and the Geneva Versions, and did not win its way to public favor for forty years. We do not yet despair of the Revised Version of 1881, although, as many have shown, it needs not a little revising, or rather a final editing by the Revisers themselves. Whatever its defects and blemishes, its merits grow

[1] New York, 1882.
[2] New York, 1883.

into favor with scholars, especially if we include the American Appendix. For it is scrupulously faithful to its Greek original. It values accuracy more than euphony. Humphry, one of the English Revisers, in his *Commentary*,[1] shows the English reader why its leading changes were made, although he ignores the American Appendix. Nor would it be very much improved, so far as we can see, by the *Suggested Modifications* of Riggs,[2] or by the more discriminating but curtly sarcastic *Notes*[3] of Goodwin. It is easy to say that it makes too many needless changes, and has too many archaisms, inconsistencies or other infelicities. Doubtless it was hampered by some of its own rules.

But those who find fault should consider (1) what *is* a good translation? Goodwin says: "It must not only express the exact sense of the Greek, but express it in good English — pure idiomatic English." This is the common view. But can bad Greek be put into good English, rough Greek into smooth English, corrupt Greek into pure English? Can an exact translation be otherwise than more or less offensive except to those who care for truth more than for style? Do those who despise a "Greek-English," and translate with an elastic freedom, really convey "the exact sense of the Greek?" This problem of a true translation is far more difficult than is imagined. It cannot be solved by those who

[1] *A Commentary on the Revised Version of the New Testament*, New York, 1882.

[2] *Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version*, Andover, 1883.

[3] *Notes on the Late Revision*, New York, 1883.

are chiefly concerned about the fate of the English language. (2) What was the New Testament Greek? Common, rather than classic; popular, not literary; Jewish-Greek and Latin-Greek; spoken, too, by the living voice before it was written on the sacred page. It abounds in colloquialisms. This must not be overlooked. (3) Is there not extreme difficulty in a translation by majorities? "A multitude of counselors" easily becomes "too many cooks." The attempt to suit all is apt to defeat itself. (4) How much must even the best new translation suffer from the magic of old association? Beet translates Romans without caring to give good idiomatic English, because "when it was first read it was clothed, not in the garb of antique phraseology, but in the common words of daily life." Terry holds that "the best possible translation may violate the usage and idiom of the best English." How, then, can we ever secure a perfect nineteenth-century English Testament? Exactly equivalent renderings are impossible. The English are at their wits' end in translating even the most familiar French words, as for "bread and butter," or "how do you do." We want neither a literal "word-for-word" nor a "fly-away" paraphrase. Must we give up in disgust and despair?

§ 16. *Hermeneutics.*

Terry's *Treatise on Interpretation*[1] is the most extensive American book on "Biblical Hermeneutics." It is bulky with irrelevant and superfluous

[1] *Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments*, New York, 1883.

matter. Why should it treat of "The Bible and other Sacred Books," "Languages of the Bible," the "Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek Languages," "Textual Criticism," and "Divine Inspiration?" It is constantly breaking out of its proper sphere into the fields of Biblical exposition, as on the "Pauline Eschatology" and the "Apocalypse of John." It advocates some questionable opinions, as in limiting the Mosaic cosmogomy to a local creation, or in taking Christ's coming as only a past event. But in its general principles and methods of interpretation it is excellent.

Far more satisfactory is Prof. Brigg's chapter on "The Interpretation of Scripture,"[1] in which he describes the Rabbinical and Hellenistic methods, that of the Old Testament in the New, that of the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers and their successors, the Puritans and the Arminians, and that of modern times. He takes up the different steps in it, viz., the grammatical, rhetorical, historical, comparative, literary, doctrinal, and practical. This scholarly chapter, indeed the whole book, ought to be studied by those who would not "*impose* meanings" upon Scripture. It shows where we part company with the scholastic, dogmatic, rationalistic, Roman Catholic, mystic, and many Protestant interpreters. It corrects Prof. Toy, by showing that while our Lord interpreted like the men of his day, in the literal, the Halacha or legal, the Haggada or illustrative, the allegorical, and even the accommodative method, he grasped

[1] *Biblical Study*, New York, 1883.

the old covenant as an organic whole, represented himself as its central theme, and enabled his Apostles to interpret it, by an "organic living method," as the Holy Spirit guided them, and with regard to its substance, not to its form. He says of Scripture: "The substance alone is infallible." "*Inerrancy* is neither a scriptural, nor a symbolical, nor a historical term in connection with the subject of inspiration." But he lays down the principles by which we may find *the sense* of it infallibly.

§ 17. *Exegesis.*

With so many new commentaries, we can only touch on some of their peculiarities. For the growth of exegetical literature in our day is marvelous. The smallest hand-book condenses the results of all the Christian centuries. This we see in the *Handy Commentary*, edited by Ellicott, based on the Authorized Version, excelling in its notes on the Epistles; or better, perhaps, in the *International*, based on the Revised Version, and edited by Schaff, of which that on Romans, by Riddle, is singularly candid, terse, thorough, and compact. Schaff's *Popular Commentary*, just completed, prepared by fifteen men of different evangelical bodies, is not so good for popular use, though better for scholars than his own Lange series, except that it sets out from some points which the best critics have left behind. On the whole, we have been most indebted to the *Speaker's Commentary*, that labor of eighteen years, edited by Cook, and recently completed. But its last volume

was not equal to the other three, and these larger books, whatever their solid merits, are less satisfactory to those who do not cling to the authorized text, nor care to plod through past controversies. All these, however, are vastly superior to the best English Commentaries before Alford's, or of twenty years ago. Nor do we owe any such gratitude to German authors on the New Testament as to Ellicott, Westcott, and Lightfoot, for there is a peculiar good sense in the English mind—that strong sense which abhors nonsense, and one ounce of which is worth more than a pound of learning. We trust that the Bishop of Durham will yet finish his work on the Epistles of Paul and Peter. Meanwhile some of the best critical notes in America are by Dr. Woolsey, in the *Sunday School Times.*

Beets' Commentaries on Romans and Corinthians[1] are good for English readers. His plan and spirit are admirable. He says: "To assume, as an axiom requiring no proof, that the Bible is infallible, is as unworthy of the spirit of Christianity as are the assumptions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy." He would base no argument on disputed passages, lay no stress on single words, and hold with caution what is taught but seldom. He would trace Paul's first principles and grasp his reasoning. In his Third Edition, he accepts the new version, and tests his own work by it. His aim is to reproduce the original gospel as Paul conceived and proclaimed it. But he expounds rather than interprets, and contributes chiefly to Systematic Theology, es-

[1] New York, 1883.

pecially on Romans, and in special notes on such salient points as " holiness, destruction, the flesh, the spirit "— clinging, however, too closely to old dogmatic phrases like "original sin," and rejecting the Calvinistic views of "election and final perseverance." He spreads, too, instead of condensing, and runs into controversy. His Corinthians is a valuable contribution to the Life of Paul, to the early history of the Christian Church, and to the Evidences of Christianity. Incidentally, it discusses the Acts and the Epistle of Clement of Rome. But he adds little to strict exegesis. He misses the distinction between the psychical and spiritual man. He infers too hastily that Paul would teach trichotomy, and favor divorce, and he translates with a clumsy literalness.

Coming to the more strictly exegetical commentaries, we must pass by the new editions of Hodge and Godet, on Romans, and Eadie on Ephesians; also, Oltramare on Romans, Heydt on Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Hebrews and Timothy; Zimmer, Worner and Schröder on Galatians; Klöpper on Colossians; also, the Lectures of Dale on Ephesians; Vaughan on Philippians, and Hutchinson on Thessalonians. Eadie fondly trusted that his system of theology had not led him "to put any inordinate strain or pressure on peculiar idioms or expressions," and declared: " It is error, and impiety, too, to seek to take more out of Scripture than the Holy Spirit has put into it." A careful study of Paul's Epistles will prove, as Row[1]

[1] *Revelation and Modern Theology Contrasted*, 1883.

says, "the simplicity of the apostolic gospel," but also that Row exaggerates greatly when he affirms that they contain "no formal statement of what constitutes the essence of Christianity," nor "anything resembling a modern creed, confession of faith, or scheme of salvation." It will vindicate rather Fairbairn's[1] position, when he observes: "Men may say the religion owes less to Jesus than to Paul. But Paul made only the form in which it could best be stated. The theology of Paul was the science of Christ."

A. B. Davidson's[2] popular Hand-book on Hebrews is quite scholarly, except that he takes the fundamental idea of the Epistle to be "the Sonship of Christ," the Messianic prophecies it applies to him to be direct rather than typical, its Old Testament typology to be "limited to the tabernacle and the priesthood," the atoning sacrifice as culminating in the offering of Christ's blood instead of in his entrance into the heavenly sanctuary, and the word "perfecting," applied to him, as describing a process in his objective relations rather than in his subjective development—all which views should be qualified. He magnifies, too, the angels, who are mere accessories, and even the sacrifice of Christ as "a great covenant-offering for the people in covenant." Can not this central point be seen in a broader view by those who come to the true Mt. Zion?

Lowrie[3] expounds Heb. iv. 1–11, taking "that rest" as God's own rest after the creation, not a

[1] *Christianity in the First Century*, 1883.

[2] *Hebrews with Introduction and Notes*, Edinburgh, 1883.

[3] *Presbyterian Review*, October, 1883.

heavenly rest, but a rest which remains on earth for us to enter, and translating v. 9: "Then there remains a keeping the Sabbath day to the people of God." He insists that this is the most pointed New Testament proof-text for the perpetual obligation of the Fourth Commandment. But does not the writer sum up his reasoning in σαββατισμός with a simple picture of that rest as a keeping of the Sabbath?

With Heb. vi. 4–6 and x. 29, we naturally connect Lemme on The Sin against the Holy Spirit,[1] which he defines as a sin under the new covenant, an individual sin, not every sin which works eternal ruin, not a mere state of inward indifference, induration or final impenitence (Schleiermacher, Müller, Dorner,) nor any sin of the regenerate, implying actual apostasy (Delitzsch), but the specific sin of blasphemous speech, which ascribes the spiritual power of Christ or Christianity to the evil one. Though a sin of the tongue, it implies more than an outward knowledge and rejection of Christ; more, too, than any mere resisting, grieving or quenching of the Holy Spirit: it is the sin of those religiously inclined, who turn against the Spirit that dwelt in Christ and dwells in themselves—committing, as it were, spiritual suicide. Nor does he take it to be a very uncommon sin.

The Epistles of John[2] have been favored by Westcott's latest commentary, which ought to be his best, since it is "a work which has spread over more than thirty years," and is "the accomplishment of a dream of early youth." It hardly equals his

[1] *Die Sünde wider den heiligen Geist*, 1883.

[2] London, 1883.

masterly work on John's Gospel, in the Speaker's Commentary. It has no special need of a critical Greek text, since the text here has so few variants. It does not so much collate and discuss opinions as give the results of inquiry. It has concise and exhaustive notes on such vital topics as "The Fatherhood of God," "The Idea of Christ's Blood," "The Idea of Sin in St. John," "The State of Man," "The Powers of Evil," "The True God." It adds elaborate essays on "The Church of the World," "The Gospel of Creation," "The Relation of Christianity to Art." No one knows better than the Regius Professor at Cambridge that "a few hours spent in tracing out the use of a word or a form, in comparing phrases often held to be synonymous, in estimating the force of different tenses of the same verb in regard to the contexts in which they are found, will bring assurance which no acceptance of another's work can give." We wonder whether he does not lay too much stress on the exact words, or on minute points, appreciable only by Greek scholars. At times he grows artificial, and borders on a rigid literalism, as when he insists that our Lord is still "coming in flesh" (2 John, 7). But he grasps the great spiritual ideas with uncommon insight. He assumes that John's First Epistle came after his Gospel. He cannot tell whether the Second is addressed "to an elect body" or a church, but "favors the opinion that it was sent to a community, and not to one believer."

Of "Life," Westcott's view is that "men have not life in themselves, either originally or by divine

gift." "Life, for a finite creature, is union with God." "Life lies in the knowledge of, that is fellowship with, God." "The life eternal is essentially present." But has he nothing to say even on the "sin unto death," or tending to death, as to the issue of that sin, its fatal effect? Does even John say nothing about this? Is the meaning of death, as opposed to life, a matter of exegetical indifference?

CHAPTER IV.

NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

§ 18. *Lives of Christ.*

The last year has been signalized by its new Lives of Christ — that life which never ceases, and which modern discoveries serve only as helps to interpret—not one of them written by a pessimist (Zöckler). "No other biography has been subjected to such a test of light and fire" (Shedd). We turn from Volkmar's[1] wild theories, as we would from Strauss' cold intellect and Renan's romantic fancy; from Grimm,[2] who appears to be sensible and discriminating, but is simply popular; from Stalker,[3] who throws into prominence the salient points with little regard to minor details, and his companion, Scrymgeour,[4] who aims to notice only the more important facts and discourses—these last two helpful to teachers; and from the *Oriental Christ*, by P. C. Mozoomdar, which opens vast visions of hope, if there be an "essential Christ," apart from the historic record; in order to speak of the *four* Lives of Christ which have current value for scholars.

Heinrich Ewald's, or vol. vi. of his *History of Israel*, was written as long ago as 1855, but trans-

[1] *Jesus Nazarenus*, 1882.

[2] *Das Leben Jesu*, 1882, a Roman Catholic book.

[3] *The Life of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, 1883.

[4] *Lessons on the Life of Jesus*, Edinburgh, 1883.

lated only recently. It shows that he was less at home in the New Testament than in the Old, and is too abstract or obscure for the general reader, but deeply suggestive. It's central idea is "the perfected kingdom of God." It gives a thorough account of the Essenes, as well as of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Its critical "temerities," as Matthew Arnold terms them, relate to the gradual growth and purification of the Messiauic idea, and to the origin of the Gospels. He is not sceptical as to our Lord's miracles, but explains them by their spiritual conditions.

Theodore Keim's *Jesus of Nazara* is a large work begun in 1871, but completed now by his vol. vi., lately translated, which starts with the arrest and trial of Jesus. He runs, indeed, on the same line with Baur, Strauss, and Zeller—destructive and combative: holding that John is at variance with the Synoptists as to the date of the crucifixion, and fixing it on Nisan 15, which nobody can prove if he does not, treating largely of the vision-theory of the resurrection, yet without deciding in its favor, and conceding that the disciples believed in the resurrection as an actual fact, so that, on the whole, he has given the best of the rationalistic Lives, as showing "the Messiah's place in history."

Bernhard Weiss' *Life of Christ*,[1] now translated, of which the second volume brings it only to the feeding of the multitude by the Sea of Tiberias, so that a third volume must yet appear, is the labor of over twenty years. He thinks that our Chris-

[1] Edinburgh, 1883.

tianity would remain what it is even if the Gospels had perished or never been written, and he treats them as mere human productions, partly fictitious or legendary. But he holds to the descent of Jesus from David through Mary, though not to the strict reliability of the genealogies; to the virgin Motherhood of Mary, or a unique creative divine agency in his birth, which Keim also admits; to his miraculous power, though not as possessed by him perpetually, but as exercised occasionally in dependence on the Father, and not as exhibited in such a miracle as walking on the water, but as a power of healing the sick by bodily contact; to the full reality of demons also, and of their expulsion by him and his disciples, though not, we think, to the full reality of the raising of Lazarus; in short, to the most central and essential historic facts, though not to his divine Sonship, except as implying his moral oneness with God. He writes with a reverent religious faith, though with the boldest and freest criticism. His Life of Christ, though not so elaborate as Keim's, nor so picturesque as Farrar's, nor so rich in Talmudic and other Jewish lore as Geikie's, nor so thoroughly historic as Andrews', nor so closely exegetical as Ellicott's, is infinitely better than Strauss' attempt to reduce it all to myth, or Neander's and Lange's to defend it, mainly against Strauss, or Baur's to attempt to make it a pure invention of the Christian consciousness, or Renan's to make Christ only a good Galilean peasant, or Hase's to make him only an ideal man, or Ewald's to make him only a perfect revealer of God.

But now *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,[1] by Alfred Edersheim, an English Jew saturated with German learning. He presents Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah of Israel and Saviour of Mankind. He writes with evident Christian faith and fervor, yet disclaims having taken "any predetermined dogmatic standpoint," and attempts "to present the truth irrespective of consequences." He gives us the labor of seven years. He exhibits a profound acquaintance with Jewish Rabbinical literature. In this line, he is able to correct even Wünsche and Lightfoot. Here, then, is Jesus as a Jew, and his life in all its surroundings, pictured not only with its historic frame, but with its local background, especially in the prevailing Jewish traditionalism. Here we see that, while "Jesus spoke as truly a Jew to the Jews," he spoke "not as their highest and best teachers would have spoken."

Exegetically, this work is of no little account, for it follows the text of the Gospels as an informal commentary, and gives valuable hints on critical points in foot-notes. It insists, *e. g.*, against Farrar, in regard to the healing of "the demonized" at Gerasa: "Either the whole must be rejected as mythical, or else be received as implying that there was a demonized state different from madness"; against Westcott on John iii. 3, that ἄνωθεν means "from above" instead of "anew," and that John xv.–xvii. cannot have been spoken in the temple.

But it has most value on historical questions, as when it shows by many sharp turns that the Fourth

[1] New York, 1884.

Gospel must have been of Judean, and not of "second-century Ephesian origin"; or by the Sermon on the Mount, "the contrariety of spirit, by the side of similarity of form and expressions, between the teaching of Jesus and that of Rabbinism"; or by the last Judgment as outlined in the Gospels, "what infinite distance there is between the teaching of Christ and the theology of the Synagogue"; or, as to the *παρουσία*, how our Lord made his Church "by no agency more effectually than by leaving undetermined the precise time of his return"; or, as to his trial, that he was not formally tried and condemned by the Sanhedrim; or, as to his resurrection, the absurdity of every hypothesis of deception, delusion or vision.

Miracles it holds to be "of the very essence of our thinking about the divine," of chief evidential value, however, "not in themselves, but as instances and proof of the direct communication between heaven and earth," and "in the Christian Church not merely matter of the past, but having fullest reality in the indwelling Paraclete."[1] To prophecy he appeals, but to *all* prophecy, not merely to certain prophetic passages, giving, however, in an Appendix, "a list of all the Old Testament passages Messianically applied in Jewish writings." He appeals chiefly "to the new revelation of the Father, to the new brotherhood of man, and to the satisfaction of the deeper wants of the heart, which Christ has brought."

[1] We cannot speak of Steinmeyer or Kübel on the miracles.

In its geographical and archæological fullness, this work is quite amazing. It is only too picturesque in describing leading localities and vivid personal details.

With the life of Christ, we may note, in passing, the new and revised edition of the late Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, which, with its new maps, must have fresh charms. But the larger work of Dr. W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, published in 1882–4—a labor of love for more than forty years—is most worthy to be compared with Dr. Edward Robinson's, for its illustrations of the hills and plains where walked "those blessed feet;" and above all, perhaps, "The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine," by Prof. E. H. Palmer and Walter Besant, with the accompanying maps, recently published.

CHAPTER V.

§ 19. *New Testament Theology.*

"The higher criticism" of our day distinguishes individualities. It finds different types and stages of doctrine. It deals with initial facts and ideas, not with logical consequences. It reasons inductively rather than deductively. Its object is to throw off the mystic and scholastic rubbish which has accumulated on the Word of God, and to guard against its rationalistic perversions. In the New Testament sphere, it owes much to Neander, Schmid, Reuss, Lutterbeck and Weiss.[1] Prof. Briggs[2] defines its province and traces its development. He says: "It is now the problem of Biblical Theology, as it has traced the theology of the Jewish Christian type to the Theophany of Pentecost, and of the Pauline to the Christophany on the way to Damascus, so to trace the Johannean type and the various Old Testament types to corresponding supernatural initiation. The Johannean type may be traced to the Christophanies of Patmos." He thinks that "the *covenant* is the fundamental principle of the divine revelation." But we must wait for its more substantial results.

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[1] *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1882–3.
[2] *Biblical Study*, ch. xi.

§ 20. *The Parables.*

Trench's *Notes on the Parables of our Lord*, cannot be superseded. For more than thirty years it has charmed and edified, at least, the English and American scholars. It abounds in patristic learning. It is rich in spiritual suggestion. But while it defines, explains and illustrates them, it takes them as they come, and does not group them; nor is it free from allegorizing fancies. *The Parabolic teaching of Christ*, by Dr. Bruce,[1] of Glasgow, is more strictly systematic. He avails himself of the latest critical text. He draws help from modern more than from ancient sources. He appreciates their literary or artistic forms. Recognizing distinct doctrinal types, he finds three groups, viz: (1) "*theoretic* parables, containing the *general* truth concerning the Kingdom of God; (2) the *evangelic* parables, setting forth the divine *goodness* and *grace* as the source of salvation and the law of Christian life; (3) the *prophetic* parables, proclaiming the *righteousness* of God, as the supreme ruler, rewarding men according to their works." Fourteen of the parables he calls theoretic, twelve evangelic, seven prophetic. With these thirty-three he associates eight lesser parables, usually omitted, called parable-germs, as "The new patch on the worn garment." Perhaps he has not always arranged them by their "thought affinities." But he does better than Greswell, who divides them into two great classes, "the prophetic and the moral;" the former containing an esoteric, and the latter an exoteric

[1] *The Parabolic teaching of Christ.* New York, 1883.

system of doctrine. His threefold division corresponds with the "three departments of Christ's ministry," in which he was the "Master, the Evangelist, the Prophet." It resembles, too, the grouping of them by Lange and Plumptre. He shows the profoundest insight in explaining why our Saviour spoke in parables. Was it "that blind men might be made blinder, and deaf men deafer, and hard hearts harder" (Mark iv., 12–33)? "We cannot believe that Christ was led to speak as he did by merely picturesque influences. The motive must have come from the spiritual composition and condition of the crowd." "The parables were neither deliberate mystifications, nor idle intellectual conceits, nor merely literary products of æsthetic taste; they were the utterances of a sorrowful heart. And herein lies their chief charm; not in the doctrine they teach—not in their literary beauty, but in the sweet, delicate odor of human pathos that breathes from them as from Alpine wild flowers. That he had to speak in parables was one of the burdens of the Son of Man."

The Parables of Jesus, by Siegfried Goebel,[1] now translated, is also methodical, and more closely critical; for it seeks to escape from the usual arbitrariness with which the parables have been interpreted, "under cover of an appeal to the infinite many-sidedness of the Word of God." After distinguishing the strict parable as a figurative history, and between *symbolic* parables, like the sower, the visible becoming the symbol of the invisible, and

[1] *The Parables of Jesus.* Edinburgh, 1883.

typical, like the good Samaritan, which do not clothe in symbol, but exemplify by a striking instance, he unfolds the primary purpose of parabolic teaching to be direct pictorial instruction. The idea of Weiss, Lisco, Lange, Keil, as well as Trench and Bruce, that it was meant to do two opposite things, or to reveal the truth to the receptive and to conceal it from the unreceptive, he repudiates, except *in special cases*, before a mixed circle of hearers, as in Matt., xiii, and its parallels, where he would hide from the dull-minded what was intended only for his disciples. Generally, whether with adherents or opponents, he had no such double purpose. He did not mean, or need, to conceal what he said. Is not this the true view? John's Gospel has no such parabolic narratives as the Synoptics, but has parabolic discourses or maxims, as in the blowing wind, the refreshing water, the nourishing bread, the branching vine and good shepherd. The Parables cannot be classified by their doctrinal contents, as by Lisco, Arndt, Lange, Bruce, because they cannot be separated from the non-parabolic discourses. They are distinct, not in *import*, but simply in form. Their central idea is the central idea of Christ's teaching generally, viz: the Kingdom of God. But, for a convenient synopsis, they are divided into: 1, Those which relate to the Kingdom of God, its founding, development and completion; 2, Those which relate to the right conduct of members of the Kingdom, towards God and the world. Yet even this division is mischievous if it breaks up groups as they stand corrected, or tears single parables from their rela-

tions. As fixed principles of interpretation, we should beware of going beyond due bounds for the sake of edifying, and rigidly ask what Jesus meant to say, not, indeed, passing over the particulars or taking them as " mere byplay and empty ornament," but keeping them within the compass of his original utterance, taking the simple verbal sense, word by word, as a secure basis, and following it up to its didactic purpose. Is not this, for exegesis, the only scientific method?[1]

Let us compare Trench, Bruce, and Goebel on the parable of Dives and Lazarus, with reference to the chasm in Hades.

Trench says "It admits of no passing from one side to the other," either from those who wish to pass from their own state of pain, or for those who wish to carry to any sufferer a moment's solace. Bruce asks, " What is this dreadful chasm? Why is it fixed? For how long?" and says: "These questions the parable was not made to answer." " On the whole, the picture of the invisible world here presented is not to be taken as didactically significant." Goebel adds: "What is said of Hades may certainly be used dogmatically, in so far as the Jewish conception of the twofold partition of the kingdom of the dead is confirmed to us here by the mouth of Jesus;" but as to the question "whether the sentence passed on the godless beyond death includes eternal damnation, or whether a purifying, and therefore a deliverance, of those under punishment, is to be deemed possible beyond death,"

[1] *Steinmeyer, Die Parabeln des Herrn*, Berlin, 1884, should be mentioned.

finds "this controversial question lying outside the circle of thought."

On this abysmal subject Keil insists, contrary to Hofmann on First Pet. iii. 18, that Christ went to Hades as a condemning witness to the antediluvian sinners, that the offer of salvation to those who die without repentance, is unscriptural, and that to those who die without a knowledge of Christ, the offer, if it be possible, is extra-scriptural.

Edersheim believes in Hades as "the place of disembodied spirits before the final judgment," with two divisions, and in "the descent of Christ" into Hades "in the spirit which he had committed to God," until, as the Lord of Life, he "burst the gates of Hades to re-tenant his glorified body;" and on the story of Dives, "suggests that although doctrinal statements should not be drawn from parabolic illustrations, at least so far as this parable goes—it seems to preclude the hope of a gradual change or transition after a life lost in the service of sin and self." He is inclined to think that *αἰώνιος* refers to "eternity in its strict sense," yet conceives that it may refer "to the end of all time and the merging of the mediatorial regency in the absolute kingdom of God." He calls it "an exaggeration to put the alternatives thus: absolute eternity of punishment, annihilation, or else universal restoration," conceiving that "in the end of what we call time or 'dispensation' only that which is morally incapable of transformation, be it men or devils, shall be cast into the lake of fire." Yet he holds that "the words of the Lord, as recorded in

the Gospels, convey this impression that there is an eternity of punishment; and further, that this was the accepted belief of the Jewish schools in the time of Christ." The drift of our day towards "immortality-only-in-Christ," "judgment a continual process and not a final day," "resurrection from the dead or of the dead, but not of the body," "death eternal only a suffering of loss or a dying out of being for ever," "Hades, the hope of those who have not been privileged on earth, or who have not been fitted for heaven," can be arrested only by those who grasp the New Testament with the spirit of that reputed heretic, Ewald, when he said to Dean Stanley, "In this little book is contained all the wisdom of the world."

There is but one life that can so reward study, multiply itself and revolutionize the history of mankind.

I bow, I love, I know, I see,
And my theology shall be
Faith in God's infinite mystery,
And hope serene, O Christ, in thee.

T. D. Woolsey.

HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

THE MOST RECENT

HISTORY OF DOCTRINE,

OR,

THE PRESENT STATE OF THEOLOGY

AND THEOLOGICAL PARTIES

IN GERMANY AND GERMAN SWITZERLAND,

BY

REV. HUGH M. SCOTT,

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTORY.

§ 1. *Relation of the Subject.*

No department of theological study shows more clearly our constant indebtedness to German scholarship than that of ecclesiastical history. The patient collection of materials, the merciless sifting of sources and the acute theorizings which distinguish that learning must be known, and, in a healthful, independent way, imitated by every progressive student of the life of the Church. So much is this the case that the Professor of Church History in our day must usually begin his course of instruction with an introductory lecture on the schools of thought in Germany, in order that his students, when consulting Baur or Gieseler or Neander, may know the party standpoint of their author, and so be able to calculate the theologic drift of his statements. Besides the indirect value of such information to a reader of Church History, an acquaintance with present German theology is found to yield further the most important chapter in the most recent history of doctrine. Professor Landerer says,[1] of the theological state of England, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland: "On the whole, we find in it only the local

[1] *Neueste Dogmengeschichte*, 1881, p. 376.

effect and reaction of German theology in the course of its development, without any essentially moulding influence upon the total development of theology; or, so to speak, upon the universal history of doctrine."

To know German theology of our time is, then, to know about all the permutations and combinations of which Christian doctrines are capable. It is to learn what the ablest and most painstaking theologians under the most free and favorable circumstances for historical and dogmatic studies have decided the creeds of the nineteenth century should consist of. It is to be told what teaching has survived the rationalistic, pantheistic, materialistic, and pessimistic warfare, which has filled Germany with armed thinkers for a hundred years. There is a lull in the battle just now, and while all parties are counting their gains and losses it seems to be a favorable juncture for the onlooker to survey the field and the encountering hosts. We purpose, therefore to pursue our introductory studies of last year in this direction, and give a brief statement of the present theological position in Germany.

If Protestant Germany be divided ecclesiastically, it falls into two great sections: the Union Church, embracing Prussia, Baden, Rhine-Bavaria, and Hesse; and the Lutheran Church, which occupies Saxony, Bavaria proper, Mecklenburg, and is still strong in Hanover. Wurtemberg is Lutheran, but liberal and really union in spirit.

Divided theologically, we get, with a great amount of individual peculiarities, three parties,

which may be distinguished as the orthodox school, the middle school, and the rationalistic school, or the school of the new theology.

Kahnis outlines[1] the growth in German theology during this century as follows. The first period—from 1800 to 1830—is marked by religious revival, by growing moral earnestness and deeper scientific enquiry, by a return to the faith of the fathers and positive Christianity as the solution of the problem. The second period, from the July Revolution of 1830 to the February Revolution of 1848, is the time of mediation. The motto of the July king, "The just mean," became that of the prevalent theology. The third period—from 1848 to the present time—is the generation of separation. The three schools, conservative, mediating, and liberal, stand side by side with little attempt at agreement or coalition.

[1] *Der Gang der Kirche*, 1881, p. 378 ff.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORTHODOX THEOLOGY.

§ 2. *The Conservative Party and its Aims.*

The representatives of orthodoxy are found in both the great churches of Germany, the Union and the Lutheran, and while differing on confessional matters, show great readiness to emphasize points of agreement in opposition to the attacks of both rationalistic theology and open unbelief. In Prussia and Baden the basis of union makes the Bible the sole standard; points of disagreement between Lutheran and Reformed are left by the constitution open questions; and the historic confessions of the Reformation are regarded as the common foundation of faith and practice. This lack of a definite legal standard of belief in these churches has given rise to somewhat arbitrary methods of procedure on the part of ecclesiastical courts in deciding cases of heresy; and during the past ten years in Prussia the application of orthodox interpretations of Bible teaching to free-thinking pastors has provoked most bitter and painful controversy. The party of the Positive Union, which was formed in 1877, and now controls the church, has made the Evangelical creeds and the basis of union a necessary requirement of ecclesiastical recognition.

Lutheran orthodoxy, on the other hand, takes its stand upon the Augsburg confession and the teach-

ings of its great founder. In the Lutheran churches the historic creed is established by law, and the conservative theology has, in so far, more solid support here than in the churches of the Union. Oppressed liberalism in Prussia can appeal to the law of the land and the basis of Union against the assaults of Evangelical church courts, but the free theologians of Saxony and Bavaria must seek to evade the law, by explaining the church confession and the example of Luther so as to allow all that they hold and teach. And in both cases the advanced school declares that it is fighting the battle of the Reformation over again; for the orthodoxy now ruling Germany is pronounced retrogressive, tyrannical and unprotestant. Professor Holtzmann, of Strasburg (b. 1832), who takes the lead in the assault on "Protestant Popery," asserts that the Evangelical Church is no longer the opposite pole to the Roman Catholic, but is, in its own sphere, following the same tendency. The Prussian Church is accused of seeking to restore ecclesiasticism in doctrine and usage. He says ;[1] "That is the leading characteristic of the nineteenth century in religious matters. For the progress which Jesuitism has made since its resurrection in 1814, and Ultramontanism, especially since 1848, has been accompanied by a corresponding confessional reaction in Protestantism ; and so there has come into the Protestantism of nearly all the German national churches a hostile foreign spirit—related to the Roman Catholic principle of tradition—which pierces the very marrow of Protestantism."

[1] *Deutsche Revue*, 1883, Hft. 6, p. 315.

The centre of Lutheran orthodoxy is Saxony, where, under the lead of Luthardt, a general united movement of Lutheran churches for propagandism is encouraged. The whole clergy of Mecklenburg, most of those in Hanover, a large part of those in Bavaria, and the universities of Erlangen, Rostock and Leipzig favor this new Lutheranism.

The Union leaders in Berlin—the Court preachers Kögel, Baur,[1] Stöcker, etc.—follow their Saxon brethren as far and as fast as confession and basis of union will allow; and form with them a powerful combination in behalf of conservative theology and ecclesiasticism. This is the copartnership which the liberals denounce as the "Stöcker-Luthardt coalition," a conspiracy against universities (because it is demanded that theological professors must believe the creed of the Church), "an antichristian league," "an unprotestant union," etc.

I. THE NEW LUTHERANISM.

§ 3. *Church Parties.*

This name is given by the free theologians of Germany to the extreme tendency in the Lutheran Church towards conservatism and ecclesiasticism. Many earnest churchmen take the ground of the old Lutherans who left the Union in Prussia. They are satisfied with the creed of Augsburg and the sacramentarian views of the Saxon Reformers. Like them, too, they consider church government an accident, to be arranged according to convenience

[1] Now superintendent of Rhine Westphalia.

or the wishes of the civil ruler. Such theologians as Hofmann (d. 1878), Philippi (d. 1882), Rudelbach (d. 1862), Harless (d. 1879), Th. Harnack (b. 1817), Thomasius (d. 1875), Kahnis (b. 1814), and Luthardt (b. 1823), belong to this class. Their earnest effort, both within and without the United and Lutheran churches, is to oppose the Reformed theology, and, with slight adjustments, to fit them to the nineteenth century, restore the creed and church of Luther. The new Lutherans, or the high Lutherans, are not satisfied with simple restoration, but hold there is need of further development of the doctrines respecting the government of the Church and the powers of the clergy. Here the teaching of Luther must be supplemented by sacramentarianism and churchliness.[1] The theologians of this class are Delitzsch (b. 1813), Kliefoth (b. 1810), Löhe (d. 1872), Petri, etc.

This difference of view, however, among the Lutherans respecting Church and clergy does not go beneath the surface. In practical life there is unity of action, and such men as Luthardt and Kliefoth work together in greatest harmony. The further doctrinal variations to be noticed in modern Lutheranism do not follow very closely such party lines, though they are found, perhaps, chiefly among the adherents of the older, and, in some respects, freer views.

[1] Cf. Landerer, p. 237 ff.

§ 4. *The Doctrinal Drift.*

(1.) THE SCRIPTURES.

Hofmann regarded the Bible as the rule of faith, but not as the only source of Christian truth. In this he has been followed by other theologians. Kahnis says:[1] "It is a false Protestantism to limit the Word to the Scriptures: the Scriptures are only the sole normative Word, not the sole Word." Professor Dieckhoff, of Rostock (b. 1823), and others opposed such teaching, and held that Scripture is not only the rule but the source of religious truth. Church truth has no relative, independent existence in the individual believer apart from the Scriptures. Faith is nothing but the receptive organ of Revelation, which is given objectively in the Word.

Lutheran scholars, in fact all German theologians, consider the Bible inspired, but reject verbal inspiration. Kahnis thinks that only an utter lack of eyesight for truth can fail to see contradictions in Scripture.[2] The Bible is not the Word of God, but contains the Word of God, though where the line is to be drawn theologians have not just settled.

Much greater room is left, too, for the historic and human in the composition of Scripture by Lutheran orthodoxy than is considered wise or consistent by the churches of England and America. Solomon's Song is a marriage ode. The Book of Daniel was written in the time of the Maccabees. The story of Jonah may be in a sense mythological.

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[1] *Dogmatik*, I., p. ix.

[2] *Innere Gang*, p. 258.

Such a champion of Lutheranism as Delitzsch has recently made no small concessions to the persistent arguments of the school of radical critics. And the most orthodox theologians seem to be drifting towards broader anchorage in matters of Biblical Introduction.

(2.) THE PERSON AND WORK OF CHRIST.

Lutheran orthodoxy tolerates much more general teaching respecting Christ than we are disposed to accept. He is sometimes spoken of as little more than the life of God in the Church. Kübel says[1] that conservative theologians are ready to allow the subordination of Christ to the Father, not only in His human relation, but also in His divine antemundane existence. Thomasius taught that the Logos emptied Himself of His divinity to become man; he modified this later to mean the working, not the being, of the Logos.

Hofmann, Delitzsch and Gess expressed themselves in similar terms.

These Lutheran doctors charge the Reformed theology with teaching Nestorianism, and reject such heresy with appropriate horror.

The vicarious suffering of Christ is taught by Thomasius, Philippi, Delitzsch and others. Kahnis holds the traditional judicial view of justification. But the drift in Lutheranism has been away from justification by faith in a crucified Saviour as the article of a standing or falling church. It is no longer the central dogma in the preaching and teaching of

[1] *Ueber den Unterschied zwischen der posit. und der liberalen Richtung in der mod. Theologie*, 1881, p. 51.

the Lutheran clergy. That place, as we shall see, is being usurped by an extreme view of sacramental grace.

(3.) THE CHURCH AND THE MEANS OF GRACE.

(1.) The new Lutheranism is going over to Roman Catholic ground in its doctrine of the Church. The minister is becoming a priest, and instead of being a messenger of God's grace, preaching justification by faith, he begins to regard himself as a custodian and dispenser of salvation. Löhe holds the clerical office gives special right to forgive sins. Any believer may promise the troubled soul pardon; but Scripture gives the pastor alone the power to grant pardon. The priesthood of believers is quite another thing: it means offering the whole life in prayer and good works to God; it has free access to God, and may intercede with Him for the world; but cannot mediate divine grace as the clergy can. (Kliefoth.)

Vilmar (d. 1868) even says the pastoral office is a continuation of that of our Redeemer, and repeats what He did. The natural tendency of such teachings is to regard ordination as almost a sacrament; to make confession to the clergy and confirmation indispensable to valid churchly recognition; and to obscure conversion and faith by a dark cloud of forms and ceremonies. Such a theory also breeds bigotry and narrowness. There are leading Lutheran theologians who will not attend a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, and who oppose more the Methodists and men like Moody than they do the Roman Catholics.

(2.) This priestly power of absolution rests on the new Lutheran views of the sacraments. The school of Delitzsch and Kliefoth regard baptism and the Lord's Supper as the sole regular channels of Divine blessing. In fact, it is not always easy to distinguish the *ex opere operato* teachings of some Lutherans from those of Romanism.

Baptism plants the new life in the infant, and imparts "the substantial contents of the sacrament." Some even hold that it has a healing influence upon the body also. (Delitzsch, Martensen, d. 1884.) In this baptismal regeneration, the possession of justification is guaranteed. (Höfling, Kahnis, etc.) There is no place left for conversion, as many understand it, and as a matter of fact it is rarely heard urged in Lutheran pulpits.

The early Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper made it a means of imparting and sealing the forgiveness of sins. The present school emphasize in it the communion with the glorified Christ. Landerer (d. 1878) says[1] that, after voluminous discussion, about the only new point attained "is the idea of personal communion with Christ as something realized in the Lord's Supper, and in connection with that the idea of the glorification of its corporealness." This is a more mystical way of stating and appropriating the former teaching about the ubiquity of Christ's body.

Faith is not a prerequisite or condition of receiving the virtue of the sacraments. The view of Luther is thus reversed. The bond, which holds the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Church together, is not trust in the heart of the worshiper, but sacraments in the hands of the clergy. Delitzsch, and such high Lutherans, reject the distinction of a visible and invisible Church; the visible is the only Church, and its ordinances the means of grace for all.

(4) ESCHATOLOGY.

Not a few orthodox Lutherans think the ordinary views on the state after death need explanation and correction. At least, the offer of the gospel should be allowed to those who in the present life never heard of Christ. (Martensen, Hahn.) This subject is still under discussion, and no general teaching has been formulated to take the place of the old doctrine. Luthardt sees no reason to leave the traditional standing ground.

Some leading theologians are strongly inclined towards chiliastic views. Martensen, Hofmann, Luthardt, Hahn and Kurtz are quoted among the supporters of an earthly reign of Christ. Thomasius warns the clergy against the danger of preaching such ideas, which are at most only yet in process of formulation.

II. THE POSITIVE UNION.

§ 5. *Standpoint of the Party.*

This is the party of orthodoxy in the United Church. In many cases the most prominent representatives of this branch of the conservative theologians claim to be Lutherans. The court preachers in Berlin, and the party leaders in Hanover, Uhlhorn,

(b. 1826) Petri, etc., belong to this class; so that what we have said of the Lutherans in their own church may be applied to them in another communion. The strength of the Positive Union has been put forth less in critical and dogmatic discussion than in the application of creeds already formed. It has given more attention to securing freedom of action from political fetters, and to a proper development of church government than to the discovery of a confession that would be abreast of the times. Prof. Sohm, of the Faculty of Law in Strasburg, says that the aim of the Prussian church now is (1) to develop its Presbyterian form, and so fully represent the church and not the great masses; (2) to free the church in its representative bodies from the influence of the organs of a creedless state; and (3) to maintain the true doctrine of the church's confession. As a step toward more consistency and better church discipline, this party demands that the representatives of the church, both lay and clerical, shall accept the confession of faith of the church. It is not enough that the delegates promise "to do their duty carefully and truly according to the Word of God, the ordinances of the church and of this congregation"—the present formula.

Neither is it enough for a pastor to profess to believe in the Bible and in Jesus Christ in a general historic sense. Dr. Stöcker and the Thuringian conference of 1881 maintain that "the modern theology is to be excluded from ecclesiastical office." The creed of the church must be the test for all. And yet the church has, legally speaking, no creed;

hence there seems to be some ground for the accusation of the free theologians that the positive party in Prussia are consciously or unconsciously working to bring the Lutheran confession to victory in the Union church.

§ 6. *Theological Tendency.*

The orthodoxy of this school received its greatest impulse from Hengstenberg (d. 1869), and is still marked by the blending of pietism and high churchism which characterized him. There is a tone of earnest devotion that commands respect; and at the same time a disregard of opponents and their arguments which savors sometimes of stubbornness and blindness.

The Scriptures are regarded as the Word of God, treated often as if inspired jot and tittle, and to be defended as found in the Canon. The human element is too little respected in their origin; but, on the other hand, Hengstenberg, Kurtz, etc., of this party, have done good work in defending the Bible from the assaults of extreme critics. Original sin is taught largely in its original rigor. Adam's transgression is immediately imputed, and total depravity is often preached.

The satisfaction wrought by Christ was vicarious and perfect. Hengstenberg's view of justification met with opposition. He made faith show itself by degrees and in good works, so completing itself; to these steps of faith the steps of justification correspond. This theory has had few followers. The Calvinism of the Reformed Church has been nearly

lost in the Union, and a mild Arminianism has taken its place.

Future probation is taught by Dorner; but his theology has little influence in Germany; neither is he regarded as an exponent of the orthodox wing of the Prussian church. The Reformed view of the Lord's Supper prevails in the United Church; in fact, nine-tenths of German Protestants are said now to accept that theory. This and the Presbyterian polity form the contribution of Calvinism to the Union churches of Germany.

§ 7. *Heresy Trials.*

From 1871 to 1882 was the period of trials for heresy in Prussia. The cases involved, and the vigor with which they were dealt with by the growing and ruling party of the Positive Union, illustrate the doctrinal position of the orthodox. Dr. Hanne was called, in 1871, to a church in Colberg, by 386 out of 400 families in the parish, but was petitioned against by a majority of eight, on the ground that he did not hold the divinity of Christ and the true doctrine of justification. The consistory in Stettin tried him and he was rejected. He was then called to Dresden, but was set aside there also for similar reasons.

In 1873, Professor Gittermann, of Esens, was deposed for rationalizing Biblical history. He made Noah and the flood a myth, like Deucalion and his flood; and Jephthah's daughter was as legendary as Iphigenia.

Pastor Hossbach was called, in 1877, from one parish in Berlin to another, but the consistory refused to confirm him because he professed "the modern theology." He was left, however, in his original charge—a matter which provoked much ridicule and bitterness on the part of his friends. Similar trials led to like results in different parts of the kingdom, while in some instances the suspected pastor renounced the call rather than face the orthodox colloquium.

The last case—that of Pastor Lühr—involved a denial of the bodily resurrection of Christ. Lühr was suspended by the church, but he has just been restored (Sept. 1883) by the Minister of Public Worship, and there seems to be a disposition in high places to pause for a little in trials for heresy.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEDIATING THEOLOGY.

§ 8. *Doctrinal Attitude.*

Before passing on to notice the new theology, we must refer to the position of the middle school. It is the less easy to get a clear idea of this compromise theology, inasmuch as it represents a certain spirit of broad churchism and aims at a practical *modus vivendi* between conflicting parties, as much as it seeks to find a middle ground in theological thought. I prefer, therefore, in this somewhat hazy region, to let men of this school speak as much as possible for themselves.

In 1848, at a meeting of Swiss clergymen, the question was asked, "What theological tendencies are justifiable in the Protestant Church, and what influence has each of them upon the exercise of the pastoral functions and church life in general?" Dr. Finsler spoke on behalf of the middle school and states its position thus:[1] "This party recognizes the supramundaneness of God, His distinct existence apart from the world; but on the other hand also, His existence within the world, the connection of both appearing to lie in the living communication of God Himself to the world. The

[1] Cf. *Geschichte der theologisch-kirchlichen Entwickelung in der Deutsch-reformierten Schweitz.* 1881, p. 29 ff.

revelation of God is therefore regarded, first of all, not as an imparting of (supernatural or natural) knowledge, but as a self-revelation, an imparting of His own life and nature, the capacity for which man has received from God. The perfecting of this impartation of divine life is given in Christ. As the God-man he is the mediation *Kat'exochen;* He is the Mediator through whom the long-sought-for reconciliation with God is effected in the work of His whole life, and from whom it is to be appropriated also by all individual men. He is accordingly the idea become history. The Scriptures bear witness concerning this life of Christ, and the form which it took in the Apostles. This form is to be explained according to the Christological principle. According to it the Word of God is to be distinguished from the Scriptures, by which the possibility is admitted—by some rather theoretically, by by others also practically—that some things in the Scripture stand in no connection with Christ. Church doctrines are capable of development on the basis of Holy Scripture, since the Bible does not contain a dogmatic system, but even different, mutually supplementary apprehensions of the person and work of Christ. It is the work of theology to show the imminent reasonableness of Christian doctrine, just in contrast to one-sided considerations of the understanding, and at the same time, to oppose an abstract, supra-naturalistic conception, such as is associated with a mechanical view of inspiration."

In regard to the right of such teaching to a place in the church, Finsler defended it on the ground of

practical Christian work. He said:[1] "A theological tendency is justifiable in the church just in so far as it is able to impart to the members of the church that life which is revealed in Christ, and to awaken, on the foundation of a Christianity historically given, a truly religious and moral life."

This school seeks to avoid dogmatic sharpness, and lays stress upon the inner life, the emotional in religion. Christ is formed in us, and yet He is more than a subjective revelation of God, though His personal preëxistence is surrendered by most theologians of this school.[2]

"The revelation of God in Christ is an imparting of the divine life to mankind. His death was a redeeming act of love—the completed victory over sin through perfect self-surrender." The prophecy of Dr. Finsler is: "Without doubt, the church of the future will, more and more, lay aside scholastic definitions respecting the person of Christ—whether dogmatic or philosophical—and will yet live more in the glad confidence that thereby Christ will only so much the more find entrance to the heart."[3]

Ten years later—in 1858—Hagenbach (d. 1874) spoke of the nature of the middle theology thus:[4] "The religion which the mediating theologian professes is neither something given perfect and finished from without, nor something capriciously made. It is, indeed, something given by God, but given under certain relations and conditions, something

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[4] Quoted in Finsler, p. 38.

that has come into being in connection with the whole human development. To take a modest, and the clearest possible glance at the earliest beginnings of all that is religious, as these beginnings are given on the one hand in history, and on the other in human consciousness, at these psychological and historic secrets (for every principle of life is a mystery in nature, as well as in history); then to trace the development of this principle through all the movements of history, and extract thence a result that will form the real heart of your religious conviction, and which shall not be overturned by every wind of doctrine from orthodox or rationalistic innovations, that is the work of the so-called mediating theology. It seeks to mediate, not only between the extremes into which human onesidedness has fallen—that is a matter of course—but it seeks to mediate, *i. e.*, to work into a harmonious unity what God offers and gives in history with what the same God has laid in the depth of our own breast. It seeks to harmonize the historic with the present."

This party, following truth, is found in the middle between the other tendencies, and is fought and sometimes despised by both.[1] It is called "rationalistic" by the orthodox, because it will not cease inquiring into the rational basis even of religion. It is termed "mystical" and "pietistic" by the liberals, because its first axiom is that only a soul desirous of salvation, and troubled about its own relation to God, can ever attain to a correct

[1] Hagenbach in Finsler, p. 39.

apprehension of the mysteries of God and of the human heart, because such a soul seeks in the way pointed out by God in His revealed Word."

It would lead us too far to try and trace in detail the shading which the middle party give to orthodox doctrines.

Miracles are accepted as a necessary consequence of theism, though they are subordinated to the idea of Revelation. Christ wrought miracles because He was a miracle. But, while the miraculous fact is to be held, its symbolical and allegorical meaning, as a revelation, is not to be overlooked. It is also the work of the mediating theologian to remove from the miracles of the Bible or from such Biblical views as angels and devils, etc., what has been added from the fancy of readers or bungling historic painters.[1] The Divinity of Christ is essentially taught. Regeneration and faith are not intensification of nature, but a real Divine work—a new birth in the soul.

§ 9. *Present Position of the Middle Party.*

The current of theological movement in Germany has been unfavorable to this middle party. With the gain of greater liberty for the radical school, many of its leading men have revised their positions, and, here and there, made some concessions to orthodoxy. The bitterness of twenty years ago is followed by greater toleration, especially in the liberal party, who are quite ready usually to work with the conservatives, and grant them equal rights; demanding only in return brotherly recognition. All this oper-

[1] Finsler, p. 59.

ates against a middle school; so that after becoming more and more a kind of ecclesiastical peacemaker between warring parties, it finds its occupation well nigh gone in view of the better spirit which begins to prevail. Its theological formula has become correspondingly attenuated. In 1870, a society was formed in its interests in Switzerland—the "*Schweizerisch-kirchlichen Gesellschaft*"—whose programme contained the following articles:

1. "We recognize in the religious movements of the present a phenomenon, which springs not from merely human choice, but rests as well upon a divinely ordered development; and we, therefore, hold that different views of faith are at present unavoidable in the church.

2. "A mutual exclusion of different tendencies would, in our opinion, imperil the existence of the church. We desire, therefore, with all the powers granted us to do our part towards a reciprocal understanding between parties, and so contribute to a sound development of the church.

3. "We seek to do this by holding, on the one side, to the historic character and eternal significance of the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, and, on the other side, recognize the need of finding an expression for Christian truth, which corresponds to the understanding of the times.

4. "We distinguish ourselves, therefore, from those who make the culture of the present an absolute standard of what is Christian, as we do from those who declare a distinctly formulated doctrine to be an expression of Christian truth binding for

all times. We hold it, on the other hand, to be our duty to work for the contents of truth as found in both tendencies; that it may be appreciated to the prosperity of the church."[1]

Finsler, who belongs himself to this school, after pleading for its historic justification, is obliged to acknowledge, that it is now less a party of theologians than a body of churchmen seeking the things that make for peace. He sums up the present attitude of the mediating theology thus:[2]

"The mediating tendency does not set up any definite speculative principle by which to measure all things. It partakes more of the character of theological reflection." He says that in Switzerland this school follows chiefly the teachings of Schweitzer, who is the purest Schleiermacherian among living theologians. It is true, in general, that this middle party rests essentially upon the theology of Schleiermacher. Finsler continues: "It occupies itself less with expiscating pure thought from the form of perception, because it does not know any philosophical opposition between them. It cannot, therefore, accept the sharp separation of person and principle. It cannot think of the principle of redemption in itself, but only as it is realized in the historic appearing of Christ. Hence it emphasizes more strongly the thought of the revelation of God in Christ. It believes in a dwelling of God in Christ. Christ is for it not only the first child of God, but He in whose person the mediation of salvation inheres and abides for all ages. Many of its fol-

[1] Given in Finsler, pp. 109, 110.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 122 f.

lowers belong openly and confessedly in the widest sense to the historical-critical school; others are in this respect more conservative. But in every case it is not the 'dogmatik,' but the historic manifestation of Jesus from which they proceed; which last they seek to grasp in its significance; and from which they endeavor to comprehend redemption. The fulness of New Testament presentations is for them the means for finding the religious, living contents of dogma, and for presenting it to others in an acceptable form. They are, therefore, exposed to the objection of some that they go too far in their criticism of the church doctrines, and to that of others that they do not in this matter go far enough."

Of these three great parties in the Protestant Church of Germany—the orthodox, liberal and mediating—the third is known most prominently as the friends of Union in the Prussian Church. Years ago the left wing of this party swung off and joined the liberals; since which separation the party of the Positive Union has become more decidedly orthodox and churchly in its theology and action. Its doctrinal coloring is drawn from such sources as the universities of Bonn and Halle—the latter city being called "the headquarters of the evangelical middle party."[1] For years—especially from 1850 on—this middle school has ruled the policy of the church in Prussia. But its power has waned and gone down before Lutheran reaction and a more confessional creed.

Recently, however, it has sought to gain strength, like the others, by organization. It has formed a

[1] *Deutsch-Evangelische Blätter*, 1883, p. 791.

"National Church-Evangelical Union," which, according to one of its organs, the *Deutsch-Evangelische Blätter*, emphasizes the necessity of a Protestant middle party, a party of impartiality. Last year this Union held its fourth annual conference in Berlin. This was called a "bold step," for in the capital only individual friends of such a party are to be found. It is mentioned as matter for congratulation that the hall of meeting, holding four hundred persons, was well filled with Berliners and others. The delegates came chiefly from Saxony and Brandenburg. Also a few from the Rhine and East Prussia. Among the theologians present were Professors Riehm, Schlottmann, and Beyschlag of Halle, Court Preacher Rogge, Consistorial Councilor Kretschmar of Königsberg and Superintendent Wegener from Brandenburg.

The subject of discussion the first day was, "What is the duty of the Protestant christian to his church and country in opposition to Rome?" and the second day, "What part have the organs of the congregation to take, together with voluntary charitable effort, in meeting the needs of society in our day?" There were some remarks made about the work of the eldership, and the wisdom of having deaconesses, a proposal to form branch societies throughout Germany; and then, the delegates went home, congratulating themselves on a very successful meeting. Appearances are cetainly against a brilliant future for the middle party of neutrality. Men want yea to be yea, and nay, nay in theology as in everything else.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW RATIONALISTIC THEOLOGY.

§ 10. *Associations of Liberal Theologians.*

The school of free theology is represented in Germany by the "Protestant Association" (Protestantenverein), and in German Switzerland by the "Association for free Christianity." The first of these was organized in Frankfort in 1863, and held its first regular meeting in Eisenach in 1865; at which three hundred theologians and two hundred laymen were present. Branch associations are being formed in every part of the country. These societies are voluntary, profess no creed, and draw their members from both the great churches of Germany. The Protestanten Bund, a similar society in Holland, even includes Jews among its adherents. Professor Bluntschli, the distinguished jurist of Heidelberg (d. 1881), was among the founders and framers of this liberal theological parliament; while Professor Schenkel (b. 1813), of the same university, who had recently drifted from orthodoxy into liberalism, was the most active theologian in the movement. The general association has met usually once a year, but after 1883 it is to assemble biennially. It met for the second time in 1867, and, with two exceptions, continued to do so annually till 1877. Then came the crisis of orthodox reaction, which so demoralized

the Protestant Association by heresy trials and colloquia with its members that the eleventh meeting did not assemble till 1878. Since then the regular conferences have met as before.

The last of these general meetings was held in May, 1883, in Neustadt, and showed by the members present and the spirit of the addresses that liberalism is still a great power in German theological circles. Among the representative men at the conference were Professor Holtzmann of Strasburg, Professor Seydel of Leipzig, Privy-Councilor Schröder of Berlin, the mayor of Darmstadt, Superintendent Dr. Spiegel of Osnabrück, Dean Zittel of Carlsruhe, Editor Websky of Berlin, Professor Holsten of Heidelberg, Cathedral preacher Frickhoeffer of Hamburg.

The Central Standing Committee has its seat in Berlin, and is composed of seven Berlin members, representatives from fifteen of the leading branch associations, and of ten other members, chosen by these first two sections. There are now sixty branch societies, with a combined membership of over seven thousand.

Besides these societies there is the Protestant Association of the Palatinate, which was formed in 1858, and has now a membership of eighteen thousand. There are also the kindred Protestant Liberal Union of Alsace-Lorraine, and the Church Association of Schleswig-Holstein. This last was formed as a result of the deposition of Pastor Lühr in 1882. It has grown rapidly throughout the whole province, and now numbers two thousand members. The

Swiss Society for free Christianity, was founded in 1871, and has shown a growingly aggressive spirit.

All these unions and associations are governed by the same principles, and work harmoniously together towards a common end.

They are thoroughly organized, according to countries and districts, and by repeated meetings and lectures and oneness of action exercise a far-reaching influence. The Central Conference does not claim any legislation. It does not even vote on matters of doctrine. Theological positions and deliverances are stated by committees and given forth for what they are worth, and as a general indication of the mind of the Association.

§ 11. *Position and Aim of the Free Theologians.*

The general spirit of this school is thus expressed: "The fundamental thought is this—that in the Protestant Church not an infallible orthodox theological system of doctrine, but solely a particular kind and manner of religious inner life, is and can be, that in which all church members agree; that theological doctrine belongs rather to the mutable elements in church organism, which are open to continual improvement, while only that form of practical religious inner life, which is the same in all church members, is the immutable spiritual support of this church organism—a support which bids defiance to all the changes of time."

The latest deliverance of the Protestant Association is found in their revised statutes adopted at the meeting in May last. In reference to the general

aim and tendency of the party, the following statement was made:[1]

" A German Protestant Association, based upon the foundation of evangelical Christianity, is formed among those German Protestants who strive after a renovation of the Protestant Church in the spirit of evangelical liberty, and in harmony with the whole development of the culture of our time. Its especial aim is: (1) the extension of the German evangelical churches upon the foundation of the Congregational principle, according to the especial circumstances of the different German territories, and at the same time prepare the way for an organic alliance of their national churches; (2) the contravention of all unprotestant hierarchical systems within the different national churches, and the defense of the rights, honor and liberty of German Protestantism; (3) the preservation and promotion of Christian toleration and mutual esteem among the different confessions and their members; (4) the awakening and cultivation of the Christian life as well as of all Christian plans and works upon which the moral power and well-being of the nation depend."

But while the greatest freedom is claimed, this liberal party by no means regards belief and unbelief as of equal value, or equally justifiable in the church. Pastor Lang, of Zürich, the editor of the *Zeitstimmen*, the organ of the advanced school, and the popular leader of free theology in Switzerland, (d. 1876) professed the greatest respect for a sincere follower of the old orthodoxy. He would be saved

[1] *Verhandlungen des XIV. deutschen Protestantentags zu Neustadt*, 1883, p. 203.

by it and could, through it, build up a noble character. Such men must be gladly tolerated in the church by the most advanced theologian. But when they seek to force their narrow creed upon others, and demand its acceptance under pain of excommunication, they must be fought to the death. This, too, is the ground taken by the Protestant Association. It says:[1] "We demand only equal rights and place for the different theological tendencies and parties, which have arisen historically in the evangelical church, through the natural development of science, culture and spiritual life." This position is of course assailed by the orthodox party, and consequently the burning question in German ecclesiastical discussion during the past ten years has been, whether these free theologians and pastors shall have equal rights and place in the national churches with their orthodox brethren.

But to proceed with our doctrinal description. Both parties deplore the low state of religious life in Germany. The churches are more and more forsaken. But fifteen per cent. of the people of the nation attend public worship, and in the large cities —as Berlin—it sinks to less than three in the hundred. Both refer to the terrible increase in crime, to the awful materializing of the views of the people, and to the almost utter indifference of the masses—led by the majority of the educated classes—to religion. And both are ready with their reasons—a mouldering, killing orthodoxy, or a deadening, poisoning unbelief. Both parties, too, after years

[1] *Der allgemeine deutsche Protestantenverein in seinen Statuten, etc.* 1865-82, Berlin, 1883, p. 15.

of doubt and controversy, feel the need of laying emphasis upon positive beliefs of some sort.

In the conservative school this feeling has encouraged a revival of confessionalism—positive always, and sometimes rigidly Lutheran. In the liberal school, it has led men to formulate their views and seek to state what they hold, rather than what they reject.

During the past ten years, especially since the appearance of the work of Strauss, "The Old and New Faith," which denied the right of the advanced theologians to call themselves Christians, a reaction has taken place in favor of positive statement. The Protestant Association itself has admitted the necessity of a doctrinal basis, and a whole literature of lectures and pamphlets has appeared in the service of this new direction in the new theology. I have carefully collected these works, and studied them in the place of their origin; I have, further, visited recently theologians of all schools in Bâle, Zürich, Leipzig and Berlin—seeking to gain a fair representation of the new school from both friends and foes; and yet it is with diffidence that I venture to formulate views which are more or less conflicting and contradictory. The following conspectus may be regarded as giving the position of the moderate men of the liberal school.

§ 12. *Religion.*

In reference to Religion itself, all liberal theologians in Germany seem agreed that it is a result of the contrast in which man finds himself—independ-

ent yet dependent, surrounded by nature and yet different from it.[1] Religion is the solution of this contrast. It is freedom with dependence on God. Christianity is essentially the same as all other religions, and has its root in this feeling of dependence upon the Infinite, as Schleiermacher defines it. Upon this basis Christ taught and lived. Christianity is, according to Pastor Lang,[2] "to work as did Christ the works of light, * * * not anxious for things of this world, but desiring before all the kingdom of God and His righteousness, * * * to be able to rest in the bosom of the eternal Father, great and rich in the feeling of being His child: that is what it means to have the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth."

The Christianity of Christ is accepted as a *ne plus ultra* by the liberal school. No development can ever outgrow it. But by the Christianity of Christ is meant the creed of Christ, the inner principle which supported Him, and which is to become ours; and not faith in Christ, or belief in His mediatorial life and death, as orthodox Christianity holds and teaches.

Resting upon this, the grand principle of Protestantism is that of the church consciousness. In it we find God. In it we see our ideal, even Christ. Outer historic facts, so called, are matters of indifference; in many cases, a hindrance. In the inner life lies the standard for Scripture itself, for views of God, for doctrinal statements. The true Protestant is bound by nothing save his own moral conscious-

[1] Cf. Lipsius, *Dogmatik*, § 18; Biedermann, *Dogmatik*, § 13.

[2] *Worüber sind wir einig*, p. 17, being No. 3 in *Schriften des Schweiz. Vereins für freies Christenthum.*

ness of what is true. But individual views lead, as the Greek sophists showed, to mere opinion, and destroy all certainty of knowledge. Against such arbitrary individual subjectivity the new theology adopts Socratic ground, and proclaims the universal consciousness. The church consciousness is corrective of that of the single member.[1] In reference to this view, Riggenbach remarks:[2] "It is not said what is to protect against arbitrary or absurd views supported by the majority of the church."

§ 13. *The Bible.*

The Bible and orthodox views concerning it as a "paper pope," are an especial object of attack by the liberal school. A Berlin "believing" pastor, we are assured,[3] has gone so far in Scripture literalism as to declare the world the centre of the solar system, and set sun and stars revolving about it. The keenness of utterance on this subject shows the crucial importance attached to it. Professor Holsten says[4] that all church differences of the present day flow from the different positions taken respecting Revelation. The orthodox belief holds an immediate revelation of God in the Old and New Testaments. For this view the new school substitutes a historic development of religion, in which God is revealed only as found in nature and human experience. Revelation is God's usual manifestation of Himself in the mind of the church. The New Tes-

[1] H. Lang, *Dogmatik*, p. 36.
[2] *Der heutige Rationalismus, besonders in der deutschen Schweitz*, Basel, 1862, p. 36.
[3] *Der allgem. deutsche Protestantenverein*, 1883, p. 13.
[4] *Die protest. Kirche und die theol. Wissenschaften*, 1881, p. 5.

tament is just the lively apprehension and consciousness of God and His teaching in the Apostolic Church. The idea of special organs of Revelation, and God's teaching objective facts in that way, is absurd. The Bible is of human origin, and contains such human things as legends, errors, etc. But it is the classic work and source of our religion, "the most venerable and original record of divine revelation; and as such may claim the highest authority."[1] From it has ever sprung and ever will spring the truth of Christianity. But the writers of the Bible were no more inspired than every earnest Christian is. Professor Hanne, of Greifswald (b. 1813), in his theses on The Authority of the Bible, before the Protestant Association, gives the genesis of the Scriptures thus:[2]

(1) "In virtue of the self-witness of the divine in the human spirit, there is an universal divine-human principle of Revelation which proclaims itself in the heart and conscience of every pious person, as the living Word of God.

(2) "The Word of God means every religious moral truth which penetrates, illumines and sanctifies the soul of man—it matters not who uttered it first.

(3) "The man who first experiences such a truth, and bears witness of it, is inspired—is a prophet.

(4) "There are still, and ever have been, genuine prophets among all nations of real culture, who all, however, gave a more or less obscured utterance of the Word of God.

[1] *Der allgem. deutsche Protestantenverein*, p. 63.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 62.

(5) "The central bearer of this universal principle of Revelation in human history was the people of Israel, in whom it grew more and more towards perfect utterance.

(6) "This eternal Word of God reached its perfect embodiment first in the teaching and life of Jesus Christ, who came forth out of Israel, the people of God, as the founder of the true (absolute) religion.

(7) "The book which reflects in living freshness this gradual process of development of the true religion till its completion in Christ, is the Bible.

(8) "The investigation of the Bible must be subject to the same scientific principles as that of all other records of the past."

What, then, is the book for us? It is not an infallible rule of faith or practice. It is simply valuable as the source and foundation of the Christian religion. It is not a historic,[1] nor a dogmatic, but, above all, a religious book. It is a record of what good men felt of the indwelling of God, and is a revelation for us only where and in so far as our moral consciousness responds to its teachings.[2] In other words, the new theology teaches (Lipsius, Biedermann) that revelation is the correlate of religion. God's relating Himself to man is revelation. Man's relating himself to God is religion. Both form a subjective event in man, and neither is, strictly speaking, supernatural. Hence, nothing in

[1] Cf. Lipsius, in Kübel's *Ueber den Unterschied zwischen der positiven und der liberalen Richtung in der modernen Theologie*, 1881, p. 67.

[2] Kübel, p. 105.

the Bible in itself, and just because it is in the Bible, is objective, Divine authority for us. It is such only indirectly, and as approved by our religious consciousness.

This removes ordinary Bible history, miracles, and such teachings as those concerning good and bad angels, heaven and hell, the return of Christ, the end of the world, and things after death, to the region of the adiaphora.

The use of the Bible is not to teach specific dogmas, but to beget in us the religious consciousness which it expresses. This the free theologian considers he can get from Scripture, although he ridicule its miracles, reject much of its history, and can by no means believe all its doctrines. Lipsius, in fact, says[1] that New Testament views of doctrine are so diverse that a dogmatic reproduction of them is impossible. Even the practical uses of the Bible do not seem to be always set very high. A Swiss pastor recently spoke of hymn-books and religious stories as much more interesting to most people, and better adapted to family religion, than the heavy, obscure Jewish Scriptures.

What, then, is the sum of the whole matter? It is stated thus by Professor Hanne, at the end of his theses, "Summa: The Bible word is not then itself the essential Word of God, but it is the most original and freshest living embodiment of it. The New Testament especially, and most rightly, forms the eternal guiding star for the Christian consciousness of faith." In reference to the attitude of religious

[1] In Kübel, p. 109.

thought in the present day, he added the following three statements:

1. "True reason alone has absolute authority; and before its judgment seat the Bible also must take its stand.

2. The true knowledge of reason has developed itself only gradually, in conflict with uneducated and falsely educated reason; its more complete victory is conditioned in the domain of religion by Divine Revelation.

3. The history of Divine Revelation and its fulfillment we find only in the Bible, and in the name of reason itself we must recognize the Bible as the sole authority and rule in religious matters of faith."

§ 14. *The Doctrine of God.*

The doctrine of God is much simplified in the new theology. It teaches practically theism, with a broad loving appreciation of the Divine Fatherhood. Professor Kahnis declares that "Christianity stands or falls with belief in a triune God." But a liberal German pastor asserted confidently in 1877 that "nowadays none but fools believe in a trinity;" and in the Palatinate catechism of 1869 all mention of the trinity, the divinity of Christ, original sin and vicarious atonement is omitted. In some cases many have drifted so far away as to reject the idea of a divine personality. Self-consciousness, as we understand it, is denied to God. This tendency is seen most clearly in the Hegelian theology, whose leading representative now is Professor Biedermann of Zürich. In harmony with such views God is not

a Creator. At most it may be said with Schleiermacher that creation is the constant, changeless, absolute dependence of all upon God i. e., just the perpetual order of nature. There is no Providence beyond law and the teaching of science. Prayer can never move God to do what, it is possible, he otherwise would not have done. It may, however, exercise a very powerful spiritual influence by bringing the soul into communion with God. It is admitted that in modern times as the element of petition passes more and more out of prayer, prayer itself passes more and more out of use in private and national life.[1]

§ 15. *The Doctrine of Sin.*

This doctrine plays a much less prominent part in the liberal theology than in the Bible or in the old orthodoxy. The story of Adam is a myth. There never was a fall. If anything, it was, as Hegel preached and Schiller sang, a rise from communion with beasts to knowledge of good and evil, a stepping stone upward towards freedom and fellowship with God. Original sin is nonsense. The cold, superficial teaching of the earlier rationalists is no longer repeated by the new school, and evil is felt to be a terrible curse which cannot be removed by a few moral maxims. Many of the sermons of men like Lang of Zürich and Schwartz of Gotha, contain solemn words on the duty of self-examination, the emptiness of the natural heart, and the hunger of the soul after God. The beginning of

[1] Article "Gebet" in *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirchenwesen*, von H. Holtzmann und R. Zöpffel.

Christianity is declared to be in "God be merciful to me a sinner."[1] And yet sin is regarded chiefly as ignorance and weakness. The remedy for it is knowledge, the example of Christ, and a life of morality through filial love to God. The idea of guilt and demerit is not emphasized or preached. We are taught rather, that man stands upon the lowest natural level, from which he is to seek to rise higher. Evil is looked upon as part of the course of this world, a necessary step in development. It is, therefore, unavoidable, because a part of natural imperfection, an element in God's own universe. And yet, with apparent inconsistency, it is held to be a sin for man consciously to yield to this lower impulse, this law of growth ordained by God Himself.

§ 16. *Jesus Christ.*

On this subject there is much beautiful but often vague utterance on the part of the new theology. Perhaps here as much as anywhere one might feel impelled to complain of the free use of orthodox and Biblical terms, such as "divine," "Son of God" "Redeemer" "Saviour," etc., by men who do not hold the doctrines historically connected with such words. The Protestant Association do not wish to be asked to define the person and nature of Christ. Resenting, in 1868, the charge of a large number of Prussian pastors, who accused their advanced brethren of "having in reality broken with the evangelical church, and forsaken the faith in which they were baptized," the Standing Committee

[1] *Zeitstimmen aus der Schweitz*, I. 228.

said,[1] "We do not admit the right of those pastors to catechize us as to whether we believe Jesus Christ to be 'truly God' or not. Much less are they justified in answering the question for us. We do not wish, however, to conceal the indisputable fact that the ancient world of Greeks and Romans learned more readily to believe in Christ when presented to them as God, while the modern world of our day is much more easily won and warmed for Christ when he is humanly set forth before men's eyes as man. He, who robs modern society of this right, forces a great part of the educated either into transparent hypocrisy or into a renunciation of Christianity."

In 1867 Professor Holtzmann was appointed to draw up for the Protestant Association "Theses on the position of the Protestant Association in reference to the present question of the Historic Christ." They form a very characteristic illustration of the trimming spirit of the advanced school. Setting out from the bold, ringing confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," after nineteen centuries of theological progress, this is where the Church lands:[2]

"1. We do not find ourselves in a position as a Protestant Association to be able to give utterance to any common deliverance on the person and significance of the historic Christ; and take for granted that on this subject there prevail many different opinions within the society.

"2. In one matter we agree, viz., that only those views of the person of Christ which take full

[1] *Der allgem. deutsche Protestantenverein, etc.*, p. 14.

[2] Cf. *Der allgem. deutsche Protestantenverein*, p. 57.

account of the thought of his humanity and historic character, satisfy the religious need of the present day.

"3. We hold firmly also the principle, that the human and historic treatment of Jesus in no wise necessarily surrenders or weakens his fundamental and central significance for the religious life of all Christendom.

"4. But we maintain that the Protestant prime principle of full liberty, in matters of faith and doctrine, must extend to this subject also; and must demand that both in the church and in her teachers, side by side, with views in harmony with the times, there must be tolerated, not only the old churchly doctrine, but also other modern opinions—perhaps just as objectionable—so long as they do not deny the religious and moral contents of Christianity.

"5. Above all, we demand that scientific investigation on this subject shall be hindered by no constraint or limits, from carrying the process which is begun to a conclusion; and we expect, just through this freedom of scientific movement, most certainly and most swiftly, the result of an universally prevailing conviction."

There is something inexpressibly sad to many hearts in the spectacle of such an expectation springing from such uncertainty and indecision. Christ is put by the liberal theology of to-day more in the foreground than was done by the old rationalists and the pantheistic theologians. He is often spoken of lovingly. His name and service are professed with sincere devotion; and no man should dare to question the genuine faith in Christ of many a free

theologian. But the liberal school teaches that He does not differ essentially from other great religious teachers. He is our Saviour only in being the first to teach the Fatherhood of God, and lead us into a consciousness of it (so Lipsius); or because, through faith in Christ, we experience this divine relation (so Herrmann, a pupil of Ritschl).[1] We are not to define Christ according to the statements of Scripture; but we are to hold him to be just what he is found to be in the consciousness of the church. He is the Son of God ethically, and not essentially. Ritschl calls Christ the religious man, the bearer of the completed spiritual religion, one who stands in reciprocal communion with God.[2] "And the moral side of this significance of Christ consists in this, that he had it for his proper and sole calling to be bearer of the perfect religion, and carried out this calling perfectly, even unto death."[3] Whether he was sinless or not is undecided. Lipsius thinks he was; Schenkel thinks he was not.

The modern theology, at most, holds with Schleiermacher that God was in Christ through a continually active consciousness of God in him. Christ was unique, peculiar, the man in whom God revealed Himself; but he was, after all, but man. Often instead of the Christ of the Gospels we are given an abstraction, an ideal humanity, an idea and not an individual, as Strauss put it. Professor Pfleiderer, of Berlin (b. 1839), says:[4] "Christ is just the

[1] Cf. Kübel, p. 42.
[2] In Kübel, p. 41.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

typical and ideal embodiment and mediator of the church's Christian consciousness." In other words, every believer is a son of God in the same sense, though not to the same degree as was Christ. Biedermann expresses the thought still more harshly. He says:[1] "The idea of an essential divine sonship is but a mythologizing presentation of the idea of religious divine sonship." Christ is consequently the founder of Christianity in opening the door of fellowship with God, in giving men an ideal example of such fellowship, and in laying down rules for its preservation; but such doctrines as his preexistence, miracles and divinity, Pastor Lang declares[2] to be simply human conclusions, drawn from the greatness of his work.

The so-called atonement wrought by Christ, just means that he founded a religious moral society, within which God and man become reconciled.

Justification is not a judicial act of God, applying the death of Christ to the soul convicted of sin, but a bringing of man's mind and will into the line of God's plan. The appropriation of salvation is independent of all mediation through Christ.[3]

§ 17. *Conversion.*

Pastor Lang asks the question:[4] "How does the individual man enter the Kingdom of Heaven? How and through what does one become a Christian?" He answers it thus: "Repent and believe

[1] *Dogmatik*, § 582.
[2] *Worüber sind wir einig*, 1879, p. 15.
[3] So Lang, *Dogmatik*, pp. 20, 22.
[4] *Worüber*, etc., p. 25.

the gospel, that is all; what the churches teach beyond this cometh of evil, and is unevangelical. Repent, that means to descend into the innermost depths of our heart, to lay bare our whole natural being, with all its open and secret thoughts and aspirations, before the eyes of the holy God, and there, without coloring or pretexts, to confess what we are —the estrangement of our natural being from God, the poverty of our inner man amidst all the wealth of our outer life, the stubbornness of our heart, which seeks only its own desires and will not bow itself under God's eternal laws, its faintheartedness and inconstancy, the indolence and sluggishness of our flesh, the inherited powerlessness for good, the natural transgressions which separate us ever and anon from God, the selfishness in our love and the want of that higher love which endured for us on the cross, of that tender love towards brethren which regards not its own but that of others; in a word— our heaven-wide separation, in the midst of all advantages and virtues, from that lofty picture of human life which Christ places before us in word and life. To confess and say with deep sorrow: 'God, be merciful to me a sinner,' that is the beginning of Christianity in the human heart."

In all this we find no place left for Christ, as the Saviour from sin, nor any hint that the spirit of God produces conviction by leading men to the cross or to "blood that cleanseth from all sin." In fact, the sorrow of repentance depicted is just that break or crisis through which man passes toward something higher. We are here side by side, and in a sense

coequals with Christ himself. Lang expressly says of the repentance spoken of: "That is the deep symbol of the cross. That is the holy passion which ever returns in Christianity. We cry with Christ, 'I thirst,' etc."

Faith means, we are told, first, and as its prerequisite, a conviction that the Kingdom of Heaven is the only and eternal reality; and second, unconditional surrender of the will to that Kingdom. The liberal theology teaches often more than morality. Repentance is, according to Pfleiderer, the voluntary rejection of the whole state of disunion with God; and faith is[1] "the surrender to the objective spirit of Christ, and reception of it into the whole subjective spiritual life, as the ruling principle of thought, feeling and will." The spirit of Christ is supposed here to be really present in the church, and this teaching is not far from the orthodox faith. But the prevalent view in this school is that so-called conversion involves no new birth and no essentially new life; it is rather an intensification of the religious conviction which is already in us.

§ 18. *Miracles.*

The laws of nature are divine, and hence any idea of miracle which involves a conflict with them is unnatural and is to be rejected. As usually understood, Lipsius calls miracles "simply fantastic." The resurrection of Christ was spiritual. The Church does not rest, it is said, upon the fact of the resurrection, but upon the belief of the disciples

[1] Quoted in Kübel, p. 59.

that the Lord had really risen. Schleiermacher admitted two miracles — that of the creation and of the person of Christ — but these are now no longer excepted. Miracles rested, we are assured[1], on four old dogmatic supports: (1) they were necessary to the mystery of religion; (2) to the omnipotence of God; (3) to the credentials of Christ, and (4) to the Divine origin of the Scriptures. But none of these, it is confidently stated, is touched by the liberal view. Miracles, therefore, are impossible. That sounds like dogmatism, in the presence of Scriptural accounts, the belief of many very wise and good men, and the multiplied confession of ignorance of causes and the wonderful methods of the universe, made by the most prominent liberals and students everywhere.

§ 19. *Eschatology.*

Concerning the end of man and the world, and things after death, the liberal theology prefers not to be definite. It emphasizes the point that religion is a matter belonging preëminently to this world and this life, to here and now. So much is this principle urged in all the teaching of this school, that Professor Kübel, of Tübingen (b. 1838) in his work referred to, finds the fundamental distinction between the new theology and the old to be, that of this world and the world to come. The old rationalism, following Kant's teaching, made much of the doctrines of God, free will, and immortality; and held

[1] *Das Christenthum und der Wunderglaube*, von Otto Dreyer, p. 8, being No. 1 in *Schriften der nordwestdeutschen Protestantenvereine.*

the Old Testament in little esteem, because this last, favorite tenet was so obscurely taught in it. But the new rationalism, while decrying conservative views as a return to Judaism and Pharisaism, prefers itself, in the matter of man's future, to occupy Israelitish ground, and urge pious living for its own sake, and with no weighty reference to a life to come.[1]

The position of Schleiermacher is adopted by Pastor Lang as his own: in the midst of the Finite to be one with the Infinite, and to be eternal in that moment. That is felt to be a more rational attitude of the soul. Piety, we are assured, does not stand or fall with belief in a continued existence after the death of the body. Everywhere the Kantian idea of virtue in its exercise being its own reward; and, on the other hand, the rejection of the rather degrading doctrine that future rewards or punishments should have any influence in a truly ethical life — these ideas are emphasized with force and persistency, and often with great eloquence and tenderness. Eternal life is present communion with God. Immortality, virtue and God are spoken of, but often more as ideals in this life than as realities in a life to come. We are most repeatedly and vigorously told that the future is not the field of religion. Personal immortality is held against the pantheist and materialist; and yet the preaching here is weak and uncertain. Until quite recently a majority of the Swiss clergy ridiculed the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Such subjects as

[1] *Worüber*, etc., p. 17.

the resurrection of the body, the second coming of Christ, the millenium, and a real final judgment are rejected or considered very doubtful; their real meaning is to be sought in the present life.

§ 20. *The Church.*

In reference to the Church, the liberal theologians take lower ground than their more orthodox brethren. The Church is not essentially different from any other human society. Its great aim is to develop character here on earth. Union with the State should leave the Church free to believe as it pleases in exercising the national conscience. It is to be bound by no formulated confession; even the Bible must not be prescribed as a rule of faith. The ministers of the Church should not be pledged on any creed. At the meeting of the General Protestant Association, in 1872, the following thesis was received:[1] "The German Protestant Association demands for the preservation of evangelical freedom of confession, especially abolition of declarations on either Lutheran or Reformed articles of faith, by individual congregations or whole Church corporations, the removal of the obligation by oath of clergymen, elders, and members of Synod upon the confessional writings, and the substitution for the same of a simple promise of fidelity to evangelical first principles, the introduction of parallel formulæ to be used at baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, and other Church ceremonies — in order to satisfy the different religious needs in the Protestant churches."

[1] Cf. *Der Allgem. Prot.*, p. 71.

At a similar meeting in 1878 it was decided that:[1]

"1. The boundaries of doctrinal liberty in the Church are defined: (1) by the duty of the pastoral office to proclaim to the Christian congregation the gospel of Jesus; (2) by the fundamental principle of our Protestant Church, that the gospel of Jesus is certainly attested only in the Holy Scriptures.

"2. The historic confessions of the early Church, as well as of the Reformation, are testimonies to Christian doctrine from the knowledge of their time, and, so, venerable monuments of the historic development of the Church, but not obligatory rules for the faith of the present.

"3. Protestant Synods have not the right to change the fundamental basis of liberty of doctrine (see 1), which was established by the Reformation. Every attempt, after a development of our Protestant Church for three hundred years, to set up a confessional obligation by resolutions of a majority, would rend asunder both Church and congregations."

And in the "Annual Report for May 1, 1881, to May 1, 1883," it is said:[2] "What the Palatinate early attained and has long defended, viz., *the union on principle of the evangelical Churches, above and past all literalness of creeds, up to an universal Christian Church*, in which the acts and works of Christian love are the only recognized creed — *that is the ideal of our Association.*"

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

[2] Given in *Verhandlungen des XIV. d. Prot.*, p. 164.

The liberal party favors more power in the hands of the congregations. They should be more self-governed, should choose their own pastors, and be more largely represented by laymen in the church courts.

Holtzmann holds,[1] that "The congregation forms the basis of the evangelical Protestant church constitution, and that the free representative constitution is no less necessary for the Church than for the State." With much of this every enlightened Christian must agree. But it must be borne in mind that by the congregation is meant, not those who give evidence of conversion and lead a consistent life, but every man and woman of twenty-five years of age (so in Baden) or in some cases twenty-one (so in Switzerland) who happens to have a home in the parish. To claim the rights of Christian priesthood for such a confusion of church and world, is a very questionable appeal to Scripture and love of liberty. The congregation should be represented in the presbyteries, consistories and highest church rule. Holtzmann thinks that in the synods the lay members should form a decided majority. The members of the highest ecclesiastical council should be responsible to the general synod. The church should be free from all bureaucratic government, neither should the state authorities meddle with its internal affairs. The ruler of the land should give the church such an independent position as would allow of a constitutional union of all the national churches into one free German church. The prev-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 78 f.

alence of orthodoxy would, it is affirmed,[1] be the death of each national church, and make the wider German church impossible.

For these reasons the free theologians declare they have no intention of leaving or being forced out of the national churches.

The orthodox tendency is to make the pastor rule the church; the free school stoutly battles for the right of the congregation to rule itself. The drift of the former is towards independence of the state by becoming ruler over it; the course of the latter is more natural, and aims at a peaceful giving to both Cæsar and Christ, of the tribute which is their due. They regard such an amalgamation of churches as took place in Baden and Prussia—based on no confession or creed—as a fact of "world-historic importance, through which the exclusive and damnatory zeal of Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxy, which has divided and endangered Protestantism through the centuries, is overcome." This union is to be defended at all costs. Some liberal theologians—such as Schenkel—do not hesitate to advocate a separation of Church and State as the readiest method of gaining ecclesiastical freedom and the order of the primitive church. Such a separation seems to be the logical terminus of such a movement. Whether, then, a church without a creed, a Protestant Association without the public treasury to pay the clergy, could stand alone and live, is a question which many people would find little difficulty in answering.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

§ 21. *Ritschl and his Followers.*

Kübel, in the work referred to, treats Professor Ritschl of Göttingen (b. 1822), as a representative of the liberal theology; but more than one critic has condemned such a classification, and claimed for him at least an independent position between the schools. There is little doubt that Ritschl is the most influential of living German theologians, and although scarcely the founder of a new party, has the largest following among the younger teachers of divinity. Prof. Bender of Bonn (b. 1845), whose address on Luther has just roused the Rhine province against him, belongs to the so-called school of Ritschl. Kaftan (b. 1848), Dorner's successor in Berlin, is under his influence. Hermann, professor in Marburg, is an enthusiastic disciple of the Göttingen master. The theological faculty in Giessen follow his lead, while older men, such as Ritschl's colleague, Hermann Schultz, and Lipsius of Jena, defend the essential positions of his theology. On the other side, he has been opposed by such men as Frank (b. 1837) and Bestmann, professors in Erlangen, Professors Luthardt and Fricke, of Leipzig, and, as we have seen, by the orthodox synod of Hanover.

The system of Ritschl is most characteristically German and obscure. Delitzsch thinks it too dark to have a very wide influence in its native land; and that in Britain and America it will hardly take root at all. Fricke, who is more sympathetic, says the

three volumes on Justification[1] must be read backwards to get a clear idea of what the writer means.

Our space will not allow anything like a synopsis of the theology of Ritschl. We can only give a few points to indicate its general spirit and aim.

1. He revives the philosophical scepticism of Kant, and distinguishes sharply between theology and metaphysics. By metaphysics he seems to mean the pantheistic philosophy; and with the rejection of it assigns to the domain of mere speculation such doctrines as the trinity, divinity of Christ, etc. He abhors mysticism and dreads pietism.

2. He makes religion essentially ethical. His theology for schools[2] treats of (1) the Kingdom of God, (2) justification, (3) the Christian life, (4) the means of worship. It is leavened with the moral idea, but dark and vague in utterance. The Kingdom is a moral society, and Christ's work is ethical. Hence Fricke calls Ritschl's book, "little more than a higher religious-moral catechism."[3]

3. God is love. With this Ritschl sets out, but gives us no explanation of why or how. Fricke calls this just what is to be proven, and says that such a statement involves theologically the eternal Christ and the trinity, the roots which Ritschl cuts off by his philosophic scepticism. In other words, this theology is an ethical system without underlying religion; a structure of virtues without the absolute God, the divine Christ and the eternal law on

[1] *Die christl. Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung.* 3 Bd. Bonn, 1870-74.

[2] *Unterricht in der Christl. Religion.* Bonn, 1875.

[3] *Metaphysik u. Dogmatik,* Leipzig, 1882.

which alone morals can rest. Hermann goes so far as to say, it matters nothing to the Christian whether his philosophy be idealistic or materialistic, deistic or pantheistic.

4. Christ is Redeemer in being exclusively qualified to lead men into the Kingdom. He was one with God in love and obedience. He died in his calling and was glorified as a martyr to his great commission. He is divine in the eyes of the church because he shows grace and truth and rule over the world—the divine attributes decisive for Christianity.

The standpoint from which to regard religion is that of the church reconciled with God. Here Christ is divine as in the church, and as the church is divine. Christ's death was to bring men into the same relation to God which he himself holds. It was a sacrifice only as an offering of obedience. In expiation, man in his faith appropriates the final aim of God as his own and renounces his enmity to God.

Fricke in closing says: "We must express a twofold solicitude; (1) that Ritschl does not draw the consequences of his own religious view of the world to the hurt of his theology, and (2) that through fear of mysticism, he lays upon morals and the 'Kingdom of God,' as he calls the society of men founded through Christ, for the realization of the moral ideal, a burden which they cannot bear, and by identifying them with religion, without willing it cuts away from them their religious roots."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

CHAPTER IV.

THE THEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN GERMANY.

§ 22.

Our space will allow room for little more than a brief statement of some facts which seem to point towards a steady growth of the fundamental principles of orthodoxy in the German churches. With the priestly assumptions and sacramentarian intolerance, associated so closely by both Lutheran and Positive theologians with sound doctrine, we can have little sympathy; yet the fact of the constant recent progress of evangelical doctrines, though thus handicapped, affords a new indication of their worthiness to survive.

On the other hand, it must be noticed that political and state considerations have lent powerful support to conservatism in theology. The Emperor William, the first Protestant German Emperor, is a staunch believer in orthodoxy, and regards the new Germany as a witness to the faithfulness of the covenant God of his fathers. In 1869 he exclaimed, "What is to become of us if we have no faith in the Saviour, the Son of God? If He is not the Son of God, His commands, as coming from a man only, are subject to criticism. What is to become of us in such a case?" The governors of provinces, commanders of armies, judges and magistrates know that

they are expected to favor the doctrines of the Church. The new Prussian Minister of Instruction uses his influence through the schools for orthodox teaching, and a reaction has set in against the system of Falk. In opposition to school associations for general religious instruction there meets now every two years an "Evangelical School Congress", which is thoroughly outspoken for Bible and catechism in all places of learning. There is certainly just now a growing feeling throughout Germany in favor of positive belief. In Saxony there are but three or four pastors who belong to the Protestant Association. The jubilee hymn book, just published in honor of Luther, supersedes twenty-six other hymn books, and is more orthodox in tone than any of them. And not a congregation in the land has declined to accept it.

Leipzig, the centre of orthodoxy, is the centre of Christian activity. Even the Protestant Association says:[1] "Outwardly church life in Saxony seems in progress. The great Gustavus Adolphus festival, held in 1882 in Leipzig, has had a powerful effect. Large sums are collected for the erection of churches, and a church building society has been formed in Leipzig which has raised already very considerable amounts."

In Baden the orthodox minority have entered upon aggressive work. Of the three hundred and fifty Protestant ministers in the Duchy one hundred and twenty are (1880) conservative, and an orthodox Association exists among the laity, which sends about

[1] *Verhandlungen des XIV. deutschen Protestantentags*, 1883, p. 178.

thirty evangelists preaching through the country. Further, the general synod has just prepared a new catechism and hymn book in which essential changes, in favor of a more positive faith, have been made.

In Thuringia, where most of the clergy have been trained in the rationalistic school of Jena, a very marked reaction is manifest. Two years ago the orthodox conference, which met in Eisenach, sent a petition to the university of Jena in which it was complained that no provision was made there for teaching positive theology, and asking that at least one conservative professor be appointed. This demand was fruitless; but a law was carried withdrawing the right to vote in church matters from those who have forsaken the church.

In Saxe Weimar the religious books have been revised to make them more acceptable to the orthodox.

In Hanover, after five years contention, a liberal pastor was inducted; but the synod, at its meeting in 1882, charged the Göttingen Professors, Schultz and Ritschl, with denying the divinity of Christ, and 300 ministers recited together the Apostles' Creed as their testimony to the faith. An orthodox minority is moving in Hamburg. In Bremen four believing congregations have just left the church because it regarded faith and unbelief as matters of indifference. And in Prussia the positive party in 1879 carried the synod by a vote of 120 to 40.

On the Rhine, a society has just been formed by the orthodox, in opposition to one founded by the liberals, for spreading sound teaching among the

people by means of tracts, lectures, etc. Dr. Rocholl of Cologne, its President, held the first general meeting last June (1883), at which one hundred and thirty representatives were present from branch societies. The number of members has increased from two hundred to three thousand. Over one hundred agents are at work, and eighty speakers lay and clerical have offered their services for this apologetic campaign. The society has scattered already seventy thousand doctrinal tracts, and by the glad reception which its labors have met with, finds the best justification for its existence.

Besides these individual movements the orthodox are feeling after more united action. The Lutherans of the various national churches have formed the General Lutheran Conference to promote orthodoxy. The first meeting was held 1868 in Hanover, the second 1870 in Leipzig, the third 1879 in Nürnberg, and the fourth 1882 in Schwerin. Its ground is "the Confessions of the Lutheran Church" and only those who "subscribe these conditions are eligible for membership." The most important paper at the last conference was by Professor Dieckhoff on "The relation of our Theological Faculties and their members to the Church." In this connection he uttered a word of warning and said a "falling back into rationalism and naturalism is beginning to show itself every day more open and general." It is especially difficult to find young professors of theology of the right spirit. The study of dogmatics seems to have largely lost its attraction. Dorner did not leave a man of his school fit to be his

successor. This conference so felt the need here expressed that it appointed a committee to report respecting the advisability of establishing separate theological seminaries.

The conference was attended by 504 delegates from all parts of Germany.

Theological statistics are often very difficult to obtain, and still more difficult to verify. Rudolf Todt speaks[1] of more than half the Protestant clergy of Germany as "believing." Christlieb says that 70 per cent. of German pastors preach the gospel more or less fully, and may be called evangelical.

It has been denied that the recent increase in theological students in Germany has any connection with the orthodox revival; but the fact that the conservative universities show far the largest percentage of increase, certainly points in that direction.

The universities of Strasburg, Jena, Heidelberg, Giessen and Göttingen are prevailingly liberal; those of Bonn, Berlin, Erlangen, Halle, Leipzig and Tübingen are on the whole orthodox.

In 1873, there were 3,079 Protestant students of theology in Germany. In 1883, there were 3,558, of whom over two-thirds attend the positive schools. Leipzig, the centre of orthodoxy, heads the list with 638 students, or more than three times the number at the best attended free university (Göttingen, 174, in 1882).

In the field of practical work, the same proportions appear.

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[1] *Ursachen der Unkirchlichkeit*, Heilbronn, 1883.

The liberal school can point to such a church as that in Rhenish Bavaria, where it is stronger than any place else; and where religious life seems much healthier than in the half-dead church of Mecklenburg, where every pastor is an orthodox Lutheran. But when we look to the wider work of Missions, Bible Societies, etc., the remark which Prof. Pfleiderer of Kornthal, Wurtemberg, applies to this same Rhenish Bavaria is true in general: "In the support of missions and reformatory institutions, the so-called 'believers' only take part."[1]

Inner Missions began in Germany under such orthodox men as Wichern of Hamburg, and Löhe of Neuendettelsau, in 1848. And so much has such work followed the old-fashioned teaching, that in the latest reports of the Protestant Association we hear the Home Mission Conference denounced as a nest of orthodoxy and propagandism.[2] Foreign Missions tell the same story. Kahnis says:[3] "The Missionary Societies spread nets of associations over

[1] *Present State of Religion in Germany*, Second Gen. Pres. Council, Phila., 1880, p. 945.

[2] The liberals, however, now maintain that they have outgrown their former neglect of benevolent work because it was in the hands of pietism. They recognize what is essentially Christian in it, and are ready to take their share of the burden. The orthodox are proud and aristocratic, and wrong in making the order of the effort (1) preaching, (2) conversion, (3) reform and charity. All this, we are told, is irrational. The field, which the liberals have surveyed, seems to be benevolence without preaching, and charity before Christ. In the following respects, the men of progress claim to be setting an example: in life-boat stations, "holiday colonies" for sick children, popular education, people's coffee-houses, savings banks for children, also parish savings banks, the red-cross society of nurses, home for epileptics, colonies for tramps, etc.

Cf. *Der Liberalismus und die innere Mission*, von A. Lammers, Bremen, 1883.

[3] P. 219.

the land, which became meeting places of faith." The eleven Foreign Missionary Societies of Germany—in Bâle (2), Berlin (2), Leipzig, Barmen, Bremen, Hermansburg, Brecklum, the Moravian, and a Woman's Society—are all rooted and grounded in the old theology.

This missionary revival, which has been both cause and effect of the revival of piety and orthodoxy in the German churches, has at last convinced even the free theologians that they are being outstripped by their religious rivals; and a new thing under the sun is to take place. Missions so far have been a fruit of pietism. At a meeting of liberal theologians, held in Frankfort, in April, 1883, it was proposed to form a new Protestant Missionary Society, which shall send thoroughly educated missionaries to the nations of culture, Japan, China, and especially India. The old-fashioned missionaries, of the type of Paul and Columba and Schwartz, will await with interest results from the new method of converting the world.[1]

We do not expect such a negative creed to cross the seas to make converts. It has been repeatedly said that in the free churches of Switzerland, for instance, a Hindoo or Chinaman might enjoy all the Christian privileges without repudiating Brahma or Confucius. Neither do we expect such a faith, or lack of faith, to long satisfy men who have been reared in gospel countries. Hence, we are not surprised to find the new theology acting largely on the defensive; and when Holtzmann describes his

[1] Cf. *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1883, No. 34.

party as "a diminishing minority," he just fulfills the prediction of an increasing majority of orthodox prophets.

A theological map of the territory which we have surveyed, would assign Switzerland, and northwestern and southwestern Germany, to the liberal school; while in north, central and south Germany, it would fix the rule of the old faith.

In Baden, the Palatinate, Alsace-Lorraine, and some of the Duchies, such as Saxe-Weimar and Coburg-Gotha, the free theology is more powerful; but in the great national churches, in Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse, Mecklenburg, also in the Russian Provinces, the confessional belief is growingly dominant.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THEISM AND REVELATION.

BY

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SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS does not aim to chronicle minutely the events of the theological world. It seeks rather to bring to notice the topics that excite special interest and are of themselves of intrinsic importance. The past year has not been characterized by any exciting theological debates. In Germany the views of Ritschl are, it is said, constantly gaining adherents, but they have not yet called forth any popular movement either in their favor or in opposition. The interest of the German people has been very much concentrated upon Luther during the last twelve or eighteen months. The four hundredth anniversary of his birth has drawn the attention of all classes to his career as a Reformer, and in some quarters has wakened discussion over the import of the reform in which he was a leader. Those inclined to the views of the *Protestantenverein* claim that the free thinking of Germany is the legitimate result of his movements,—was virtually involved in them; the prevailing opinion, however, continues to be, that Luther resisted the encroachments of Rome rather than sought the freedom and development of science. In Great Britain politics has excited more interest than theology. The various lectures called forth by the foundations connected with some of the universities are always monuments of learning and

profound thought, but have not within the year, so far as we are aware, wakened any special interest by their originality or unusual power. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, by Henry Drummond, is a work that will be read with interest, but hardly falls within the range of theology as that term is usually understood. It is an essay on the harmony between science and religion, or more properly, on the unity of science and religion. The latter part of the book has to do with practical religion rather than with doctrine. The work is well fitted to give vivid, almost startling, views of the nature, power, and immediate efficiency of spiritual life.

In our own country there is a deep and increasing interest in theology. The expression, *new departure*, is occasionally heard; such departures may have been made, but they have not yet disclosed the extent of their movement, or their angle of divergence, from the ancient faith. Since a part of this volume went to press the new Congregational creed has been published. It seems to have been received with much favor. Such eminent Christian scholars as those who constituted the committee, could not fail to give expression to important Christian truth in their utterances, but the time has not come to judge of the contents and omissions of their production. The standard of judgment is not yet agreed upon. As to *form* it is open to criticism. It may be doubted whether its brevity has not cost more than it is worth, whether the effort to avoid theological terms has not tended to obscurity, whether the logical connection of some

of the clauses can ever be ascertained except by a commentary from its authors.

But this creed has not come into the current discussions of the year, the thoughts of theologians have been turned rather to the *basis* of Christian doctrines. Questions in which theology and philosophy meet are assuming a special prominence. If we except eschatology, there is hardly a doctrine of revealed theology proper which is claiming immediate attention. Still, opinions are not settled in this department of thought. Discussion seems to be postponed till the foundations shall be more firmly established. The atonement will surely come under review whenever unanimity of opinion shall have been reached concerning the incarnation and person of Christ. And Christology, not wholly suppressed now, will waken eager interest whenever the minds of thinking men are at rest on the subject of theism, — perhaps we should say theism and the fact of revelation.

At present theologians are crowded back to the primal questions: "Is there a God?" and "Does God hold communion with men?" These are topics, as all admit, to be discussed anew. Recent interest in natural science, new theories as to material nature, revolutionary schemes of morals and religion have compelled theists to review and re-state their reasons for believing in the divine existence.

The tendency at present is to base belief in God upon *a priori* considerations or upon Christian experience. Ideas concerning nature, its laws and causal forces, are so much unsettled of late, that theo-

logians are reluctant to set forth conclusions of the *a posteriori* kind. Even those who have no doubt of their validity might think it not worth while to appeal to principles vehemently disputed. It is assumed by some authors that the principle of theism most easily defended is this: The being of God is implied in all thought. It is said that science, any knowledge that may be called real, in truth, affirmation and negation must all rest finally upon Deity. Some philosophical thinkers, again, appeal to Christian experience, and found on it arguments for the existence of God and for revelation. The Christian has, in his conversion, a fact of which he has satisfactory knowledge, which neither science nor philosophy has power to deny, and which is to him evidence of an external, personal power working upon him. Hence he has evidence of the existence of God which no one can gainsay. This view has been presented with great fulness and force by Dr. Fr. H. R. Frank, professor of theology in Erlangen.[1] His work is not recent, but kindred views, not uninfluenced by his, have of late been published to the world. It is said, if God's converting power in its manifold work in the Church is brought under consideration, we have the ground for believing not only in the existence of God, but in His communion with men. Hence the Church, as a historical development, may be made the source of an entire system of theology. There are also some who seem to consider that, not a Christian experience simply, but a natural experience is proof of the divine existence. It is sometimes said

[1] *System der Christlichen Gewissheit*, 1870, 1881.

the proof of God's existence is God Himself. The basis of the remark is our God-consciousness. Some hold that we are, or ought to be, as clearly conscious of God as of the world, and that our proof of His existence is the fact that we are with Him, come in contact with Him. The expression, God-consciousness, is used by some authors with perhaps a less literal idea of consciousness than that given above, but implying in some way immediate knowledge.

In the part of CURRENT DISCUSSIONS allotted to Systematic Theology we shall confine attention to theism and revelation, and select as representing present tendencies of thought upon these topics three recent works; the first, a work favoring the *a posteriori* argument for the existence of God, while criticising unfavorably the ordinary argument from design; the second, a treatise on *The Philosophical Basis of Theism*,[1] by Professor Samuel Harris, D. D., of the Theological Seminary of Yale College; the third, a treatise on the *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*,[2] by Professor Geo. T. Ladd, D. D., of Yale College. *The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*,[3] by Professor Geo. P. Fisher, D. D., is one of the most valuable theological works of the year, and should be noticed as worthy of careful study, but, on the topics to which we confine ourselves, it presents nothing specially different from the works above noticed and is in a form not so convenient for review.

[1] New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER I.

THEISM.

I. PROFESSOR HICKS ON DESIGN-ARGUMENTS.

A Critique of Design-Arguments[1] has recently been published by Professor L. E. Hicks, of Denison University, Ohio. The aim of this work is to show that the attempt to prove the existence of God from teleology must be futile, and to show that there is yet connected with the idea of design material from which it may be inferred, through proper argumentation, that the universe was planned by an intelligent author. The author first criticises the teleological argument as ordinarily stated. He says: "Design is a cloak for numerous fallacies," and that "One of these fallacies which has been frequently criticised is that involved in the proposition, 'Design implies a designer.' Irons, McCosh, Powell, and several others, have noticed this fallacy—some of these criticisms being nearly half a century old; and yet we find that Dr. Hodge opens his discussion of teleology with this syllogism: 'Design supposes a designer. The world everywhere exhibits marks of design. Therefore the world owes its existence to an intelligent author.'" "The major premise is, as he (Hodge) says, an identical proposition. But, that being the case, the syllogism reduces to this form: A is A; B is A; therefore, B is A. No valid syllo-

[1] New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.

gism can be constructed with two terms. The truism contained in the major premise contributes nothing to legitimate reasoning, but serves only to cloak a fallacy."[1] Professor Hicks says elsewhere: "Why is it that teleology cannot be freed from a fallacy in the statement of it? It is simply because teleologists have mistaken the true use and scope of this argument. They have employed it to prove the existence of God; and they have assumed—correctly, too, so far as this single point is concerned—that this proof must begin with a demonstration of intelligence in the universe. *But the mere existence of intelligence cannot be proved by means of teleology.* It cannot be even attempted without begging the question: the very first step is inevitably a fallacy. This is obvious enough the moment we reflect upon the nature of the thing attempted. Teleology always has reference to an *end* selected and accomplished by suitable means. The essence of the attempt is therefore to prove the *existence* of intelligence by means of the definite *direction* given to intelligence. But its existence must be *assumed* in order to ascertain its direction."[2] "The attempt to prove the existence of mind teleologically involves a fallacy which can no more be escaped than the law of gravitation."[3]

We think the Professor is himself mistaken in supposing that the teleological argument is used to prove the existence of intelligence. Men writing about design, detecting fallacies, encountering each

[1] P. 29.
[2] P. 371.
[3] P. 372.

other in debate, are not supposed to be in doubt whether or not mind exists. But we will not pause to discuss this point.

Professor Hicks has done good service to Natural Theology in calling attention to the various meanings connected with the word *design*. It has been suggested that Raphael painted the Dresden Madonna as the device upon a banner to be carried at the head of a procession. If this be true, the picture was a means to an end, and could be made to do service in a teleological argument. But if the picture was not designed for such a purpose, it still is a work of such character that design is manifested in it. We might suppose different replies to the question: Why did he paint it? Some one might say, to give expression to his own sentiments; another might say, to awaken the sentiment of adoration; or it might be suggested that he had a secret motive never disclosed; but this uncertainty as to the intention of the artist would not at all remove the work from those to be traced to an intelligent author. It is a work of design because it was made *on purpose*, if we do not know *the* purpose. Even casual deeds may bear marks of design, as well as works of utility or of fine art. When a boy cuts his name on a fence-board, he does a work from which inferences may be drawn that are just as valid as those furnished by the structure of a watch. It is clear that there are many marks of intelligence in the world which are not manifested simply by the adaptations of means to ends. We recognize intelligence from certain qualities which we observe,

perhaps without being able to state exactly what the critical point of the evidence is.

Our author divides the design-argument into two parts—that of design proper, and that based on the *order* observable in the world. While he maintains that the divine existence cannot be proved from the former, he believes that intelligent authorship of the world may be proved by the latter, —an argument which he terms eutaxiological. He does not claim entire originality in this division of the design-argument, and quotes Dr. McCosh as recognizing two great principles running through the works of God—the principle of order, and the principle of special adaptation; but maintains that the division has never been sufficiently noticed, and that the more important part has never received a proper designation. "The order-argument is therefore still unnamed. I propose to call it eutaxiological, from eutaxy (*εὐταξία*) *established order*. Eutaxiology will then be the sum of the reasonings from the order of nature respecting the existence of God."[1] The eutaxiological argument, as distinguished from the teleological, the author describes thus: "The fundamental proposition of eutaxiology is, that order and harmony are marks of intelligence. They imply that there has been a preconceived plan, to which the phenomena in question have been made to conform." After illustrating his position by reference to animal structures, he says of the type of a limb: "Is it not a real thing? Not in the sense of being material: it is simply an *idea*, nothing more and

[1] P. 7.

nothing less. But an idea which has moulded the form of the hand with which you hold this book, and the wing of a bat, and the paw of a lion, and a thousand other animal forms, all on the same pentamerous pattern, is considerable of an idea. Call it a creation-idea, or an evolution-idea, whichever you like best. An idea it is, at all events—a veritable *plan*, which only an intelligent being could have conceived and executed. The key-note of eutaxiology is *plan*, as that of teleology is *purpose*. 'Plans and Purposes in Nature' would be a comprehensive title for a treatise on physico-theology. The elements of the eutaxiological proof, or the fundamental conceptions involved in it, are: (1) the fact of order in nature; (2) the *plan*, or the mental conception of that disposition of objects and that movement of forces which constitute order and harmony."[1]

The division of the design-argument into two parts seems to be a justifiable one; order is not identical with the adaptation of means to an end. Those who hold to the doctrine of evolution would much more readily admit the former than the latter, indeed many of them would deny the adaptation of means to ends and explain all appearances of it as instances of the survival of the fittest. But order does unquestionably exist in the world, and if the existence of intelligence in the author of the world can be inferred from it, this form of the argument is to be gratefully accepted. Still there are difficulties besetting this argument. In the strictly *teleological*

[1] Pp. 18, 19.

argument the difficulty is in the minor premise. No one denies that adaptations imply one who adapts, but the question remains: does nature exhibit undoubted instances of adaptation? In the *order* argument the difficulty is with the major promise, no one doubts the order; but does it necessarily imply intelligent authorship? Professor Hicks thinks it does. He says in a passage already quoted: "An idea it is at all events,—a veritable plan which only an intelligent being could have conceived and executed." Here he bases his inference on the principle of causation. But he has misgiving as to the validity of the principle, or perhaps rather as to its acceptance by those to whom he would address the argument. Causation by a power acting with freedom, forming a plan, will be thought by some to trench upon the universality of law, to disturb in fact the order of the universe. He, therefore, seeks another method of connecting order with intelligence. "What is meant by saying that order is a *mark* of intelligence? Simply that it is *invariably conjoined with it.*"[1] "It is not asserted that order is conjoined with intelligence in the relation of an effect to its cause. It may be true — nay, it is true without any doubt — that they are conjoined in this relation; but this is not included in the assertion, nor is it essential that it should be. The invariableness of the conjunction is the vital point in determining the validity of the inference of intelligence from order. . . . . The argument will be just the same, however, if we do assert the relation of

[1] P. 348.

cause and effect, as if we do not assert it. In either case it is the *invariableness* of the relation, and not the *nature* of the relation, which gives validity to the specific inference of intelligence."[1] In accord with this view, Professor Hicks maintains that the eutaxiological argument and the teleological, when properly constructed, are both based on induction.[2] Order must be associated with intelligence, so affirms our uniform experience, we can not see the one without believing the other to be present. It may well be questioned whether he does not in this way invalidate the argument to which he has given so much attention, and for which he pleads so earnestly. We have had no experience in world-making. It seems to us, no doubt, that the order in nature is produced by intelligence, but if that can be affirmed only so far as our experience goes, then the only result is, that we can not *deny* the existence of mind outside the sphere of our observation; perhaps we might venture to say: if there is intelligence connected with the tides, for example, or the planetary movements, the fact is not out of analogy with the operations in which we are immediately concerned.

Professor Hicks is probably correct in holding that there has been confusion of mind on the part of some writers in their treatment of the teleological argument, and in their attempts to distinguish it from the cosmological argument. The latter argument concludes from a dependent nature the exist-

[1] P. 349.

[2] Pp. 355-383.

ence of a cause producing it. If one adds to dependent nature orderliness of structure, then the producing cause may be supposed competent to the forming and executing of a plan; and if one still adds to dependent orderly nature adaptation to an end, then the qualities necessary to *this* result may be attributed to the cause. The arguments are alike in their dependence on the principle of causation. But they are to be distinguished as to the use commonly made of them and the conclusions brought forward through them. The cosmological argument is naturally used to prove a first cause; the eutaxiological, to adopt the nomenclature of the work before us, to prove the power and intelligence of the author of nature; the strictly teleological, to exhibit the governmental and moral attributes of Deity.

None of the *a posteriori* arguments for the divine existence can be so exhibited as to make denial of their validity impossible. If the major premise is so stated that it must be granted, the minor can be denied; and if the minor states an unquestioned fact, the major will appear in a form to which exception can be taken. If we set out with the proposition, design implies a designer, we shall be asked, where are the designs? We may point to the eye, the hand, the honey in flowers, etc.; but if one persists in saying these are all to be accounted for by a power acting *a tergo*, and there is no evidence of a *final* cause in the case, we can only give our opinion as an offset to his. We think the varied, multiplied, complicated fitnesses of instruments to results must convince any one that these instruments are means

purposely adapted to ends; but if there are those who deny, we can not annihilate the denial. If we put the case in this way: Order is a mark of intelligence, order exists in the universe, therefore intelligence exists in the universe;[1] the minor will at once be accepted, but the major will call forth questioning. How does one know that order is a work of intelligence? It generally is, but our *generally* is a very small affair, and not without exceptions, even within the narrow range of our observation. Here is a man who faints *regularly* when he smells tobacco burning on a hot stove; does that indicate intelligence? There is a possibility of denying the proposition; order is a mark of intelligence. There is nothing in the statement to compel assent, indeed dissent may be very plausible. Mr. Hicks says: "It requires mental keenness and mental breadth, both combined, to enter fully into the spirit of eutaxiology."[2] This, however, is a rare combination, while we desire an argument for the being of God that will carry conviction to all.

It may be worth while to ask whether the word intelligible may not be substituted for orderly. Many instances of order seem merely casual, these would be left out of view by the change suggested. Let the syllogism be: the intelligible is to be traced to the intelligent, the world presents multitudes of intelligible structures, therefore, these must be attributed to an intelligent author. In this case the difficulty is connected with the major premise. There are things in the world which we can read,

[1] P. 347.
[2] P. 362.

as knee-joints, eyes, the seasons of the year, health and disease, beauty and deformity, while we are not compelled to consider them as means to ends in order to understand something of their import. But is this which is legible to us written by an intelligent author? Here the survival of the fittest comes in again, and we are told that fitness is mistaken for the author's work. Still it seems natural to suppose that the legible or intelligible comes between two minds, the writing mind and the reading mind. We certainly have two of these three correlatives, the reader and the legible, can we be warranted in supposing the author of the legible has as much intelligence as the reader of it? It would seem as if this must be true, if even only the fittest *survives*. The force that writes what can be understood must be intelligent, even if ninety-nine hundredths of his writing never finds a reader. The less fit could have been read and understood if it had survived. The falling of the less fit before the more fit shows that the author is more prolific in production, not less intelligent in design, than would at first appear.

II. PROFESSOR HARRIS ON THE BASIS OF THEISM.

Professor Harris has recently made an important contribution to the literature of theism. He attempts to lay a philosophical foundation for the science. He says: "This volume is not designed to present in detail the evidence of the existence of God; it is designed to examine the constitution of man as a personal being in order to ascertain his

capacity to know and serve God, to answer the philosophical questions involved in the controversy with skepticism, agnosticism and materialism, and to set forth, clear from misapprehension, and vindicate the principles on which the defence of theism must rest."[1] The conclusion is reached, however, that there is a God, that all science requires the belief of His existence. He says: "The existence of the personal God, or the supreme reason energizing in the universe is a necessary datum of scientific knowledge. So far from its being true that God is contradictory to reason or is unknowable, His existence is a necessary presupposition in all knowledge which has scientific accuracy and comprehensiveness. . . . . The existence of God is the keystone of the arch of human knowledge, without which the whole fabric breaks down and crumbles to pieces."[2] It is rather the necessity of believing in the existence of God, than the fact of His existence, which is the subject of this work. "Energizing reason and it alone, adequately accounts for all that is. The vindication of this proposition requires the presentation of the reasons why we believe that the personal God exists, and does not come within the design of this book. It is therefore relegated to Natural Theology."[3] The *character* of God as manifested in the physical and moral world is not brought under discussion, but a firm basis for such a discussion it is the author's aim to establish, by showing that we know an absolute Being, a Being of power, the source

[1] *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, p. 3.
[2] P. 560.
[3] P. 292.

of law, whose real existence is the condition of all other existences and of all knowledge. It is easy to see that the philosophical thinker, accepting such a Being as his starting-point, might construct a system of natural theology, in which he should maintain the personality, the providence and the authority of the Deity.

In the volume before us, therefore, Professor Harris faces the chief difficulties of theism. The question of interest is, how does he dispose of them? We cannot follow his elaborate work in its details, but have space merely for a presentation of its salient points. We may say, however, that every page is carefully written, that there is evidence of extensive reading and patient study upon all the points discussed, and that the author manifests not only critical acumen in philosophical investigation but the rarer power of scientific construction.

His Idea of the Absolute.

The most important position assumed by Professor Harris, in his system, considered as a positive scheme of thought, is this: the existence of the absolute is known to us through rational intuition. "The belief that Absolute Being must exist is a rational intuition necessarily arising in the effort to complete the processes of thought in any line of investigation."[1] All thinking leads to this result. If we reach any general truth of mathematics or any universal law of morals, we are compelled to assume, so the author teaches, a universal reason on

[1] P. 286.

which the law or the mathematical conclusion rests. If we study the processes of nature manifested in a series of causes and effects, we can not but see that there must be a primal source of the power manifested, and that this source abides the same for all time,—the absolute cause. This rational intuition, however, extends only to the fact of the existence of the absolute, and the fact that the universe depends upon it. The intuition is wakened into consciousness by a study of man and of nature; their demand for a support and an author is the excitant to the rational intuition of their source. "We cannot know *a priori* what the Absolute Being is; but, so far as this knowledge is possible, only *a posteriori*, in knowing that it accounts for the universe, including both men and nature. In the rational intuition that the Absolute Being exists, it is known as the ground of the universe."[1]

This absolute is the real basis of theism. With its existence as an established fact natural theology may proceed with its inquiries, asking what place the absolute holds in the universe, investigating the attributes manifested by it, the extent of its power and the results of its efficiency. But are we obliged to rest satisfied with the bare knowledge of the existence and a few of the relations of the absolute?

Professor Harris answers this question in the negative. We have knowledge also, to some extent, of the content of the absolute. While the bare rational intuition gives us knowledge only of the truth that the absolute exists, we have other intui-

[1] P. 287.

tions which we may combine with this, which exhibit something of its character. We already know being, by presentative, or perceptive intuition, and the knowledge thus obtained is of general application. "A man knows *being* in his consciousness of himself as existing."[1] The whole idea of *being* is given in that consciousness. "Being, in its whole reality as substance and quality, agent and action, is presented in presentative intuition. The reality presented in intuition we apprehend in thought as substance and quality, agent and action; but the reality thus apprehended is given in the intuition. It is so apprehended in thought because it is so in reality. Rational intuition adds that being, thus known, is real being, as reason in the light of its universal principles knows it must be. Substance and quality therefore, is not, as Kant regards it, a form of pure thought, wholly subjective to the thinker, but it is objectively real in the being as known in presentative intuition, and is so apprehended in thought, both because it is so in the particular being known, and because reason sees that it must be so in all beings."[2] All that we know of being as such we know of absolute being. Though the intuition is presentative it is of universal validity for "being is the fundamental reality."[2] There are other presentative intuitions concerning being which are not of necessity applicable to the absolute because we know in presentation only determinate particular being. But when we apply thought to determinate being, or when we set particular things

[1] P. 155.
[2] P. 157.

in their order and observe their relations, we apply to them certain forms of thought. These forms are rational intuitions, and as such may be applied to the absolute as well as to dependent being. Professor Harris designates four forms of thought which are, as intuitions of the reason, applicable to all being. These are the *true*, the *right*, the *perfect*, and the *good*. These "are norms or standards by which reason estimates and judges beings in all their modes and actions. The True is the rational norm or standard of thinking and knowing; the Right is the norm of efficient action, personal or impersonal; the Perfect, of the creations of thought and their realization by action; the Good, of all that is acquired, possessed and enjoyed. . . . . We apply these standards to nature. In so doing we assume that nature itself is the expression of Reason, and therefore can be judged by the standards of reason."[1] When we apply these norms to the absolute, it is not that we may subject it to our judgments by asking whether it is true, useful, beautiful, but that we may trace to it as the source of nature the laws impressed on nature. The idea of the absolute has this content, in addition to that before known, that in it reside the true, the right, the perfect and the good. Our rational intuitions then, furnish us the absolute as necessarily existing, as *real*, and not simply a principle regulative of our thoughts, as the source of all finite things, and as manifesting itself by imposing on nature, on all things, personal and impersonal, as forms to be

[1] Pp. 180, 181.

realized or as norms of existence, the true, the right, the perfect and the good.

With such an absolute to appeal to, to fall back upon, it is an easy task to construct a scheme of natural theology, to establish a system of theism, to lay the foundation of a revelation. This Absolute is the "Energizing Reason" that created the world, is the Ethical Lawgiver that imposes the true and the good as rules of action upon the moral world, is the implied power that gives concrete reality to the principles which lie at the foundation of science and philosophy.

It is a question of great interest, whether we can go into the contest with atheism, agnosticism and materialism, with such an ally at hand. Surely the victory is already won, if we can claim, and our opponents will concede, that we are supported by such a *defender of the faith*. We will not assume to affirm or deny as to the fact in the case, but will simply notice some of the vital points in the argumentation by which it is attempted to establish the right,—the necessity, of believing in such an absolute.

Basis of Belief in the Absolute.

The conclusions of Professor Harris as to our knowledge,—that of the existence of the Absolute being one of them—are based on three fundamental principles which are assumed and which from the nature of the case, cannot be proved, except as they are made clear by explanation and illustration. These are, (1) consciousness embraces the object, (2) consciousness is trustworthy, (3) that which is

true is real and abides in a subject. These points are insisted upon with great positiveness and earnestness.

On the position that consciousness embraces the object he says: "The reality of man's knowledge of himself and his environment is a primitive datum of consciousness. This is implied in the first law or primordial postulate of thought; knowledge implies a subject knowing and an object known, and is the relation between them. When I say knowledge is real, I simply formulate in thought the primitive consciousness, 'I know.' But this primitive, 'I know,' declares alike, 'It is I who know,' and 'I know something.' Thus the primitive datum of consciousness that knowledge is real involves, as of the essence of knowledge, the reality of the *ego* or subject knowing, and the reality of the object known; for if either is unreal the knowledge does not exist."[1]

The author has not given us his view of the range of consciousness, but says it takes in man's environment; he holds, also, that rational beings other than ourselves, are objects of immediate knowledge. "The recognition of sense as perceptive intuition, involving at once the intuition of the object perceived and of the self perceiving, implies without further argument, the possibility of knowing rational beings other than ourselves."[2] After noticing Kant's refutation of Hume's view on this subject, he says: "But to one who recognizes perceptive and rational intuition Kant's roundabout reasoning

[1] P. 12.
[2] P. 558.

is unnecessary. Such an one, in accordance with our constant consciousness, ascribes to intuition the knowledge which Kant laboriously proves. Perceptive intuition gives the knowledge of the me as distinguished from the not-me; equally it must give the knowledge of the *Me* as distinguished from the *Thou.*"[1]

The range of consciousness embraces the absolute also. "Thus in every line of thought the knowledge rises self-evident before us that there must be an Absolute and Unconditioned Being. We properly recognize it as a primitive and universal truth known in rational intuition. The idea of Absolute Being and the belief of its existence are in the background of human consciousness and at the foundation of all knowledge of human thought."[2]

Again he says: "I expect also to show, what I will merely indicate now, that the reality of our knowledge of God is a primitive datum of consciousness. Man being rational is so constituted that in the presence of God, and of His various manifestations of Himself, he will know Him and he will know that he knows God in the act of knowing Him. In thinking of himself and the beings about him he comes in view of the absolute being."[3] The author makes, also, the ultimate realities which are the standards of rational judgment objects of consciousness; that is, of rational intuition. These are the true, the right, the perfect and the good. These

[1] P. 558.
[2] P. 287.
[3] P. 14.

are the forms in which beings exist. Being itself is known in *presentative* intuition, but these forms of all being and the necessary existence of absolute being are known by *rational* intuition. And rational intuition is as truly a form of consciousness as perceptive—each intuition in its place is authoritative, knows its objects as self-evident.

On the second point, the trustworthiness of consciousness, Professor Harris is very emphatic. "The primordial postulate is not from the beginning formulated in the words, knowledge is real; or 'our intellectual faculties are trustworthy.' It exists, rather, in every act of knowledge as the man's unenunciated consciousness of himself as knowing, of an object known, and of the knowledge. It is a waste of intellect to carry the question through metaphysical discussion. This postulate which underlies all human experience, conditions all human knowledge and is the primitive datum of all consciousness, admits of no debate. Knowledge begins with knowing; it reveals itself self-evident, as light reveals itself by shining. It originates as knowledge, the perpetual miracle of Minerva springing full-armed from the brain of Jupiter."[1] "Every reason urged to prove that our intellectual faculties are trustworthy, can be a reason only because those faculties are trustworthy. It is therefore illegitimate and useless to attempt to prove the reality of knowledge or the trustworthiness of our intellectual powers."[2] Accordingly the author, holding that consciousness embraces its objects, that one of those objects is the

[1] P. 14.
[2] P. 13.

absolute, and that consciousness is not to be questioned, can say: "The question with the atheist is not whether man can know God, but whether he can know anything rationally and scientifically."[1] "The agnostic may assert a partial agnosticism while admitting the reality of knowledge in other particulars; but it is only because he has not thought far enough to see the reach of his denial. The partial necessitates the complete agnosticism."[2]

In connection with the third point, that the true is real and abides in a subject, the author takes his boldest and most characteristic position. He has an aversion to abstractions. "The universe is not abstract but concrete. Knowledge is correlative to being. Abstraction is a process of our own minds separating in thought what is never separated in fact. It is possible in thought to abstract an action from the agent, a thought from the thinker, a truth or law from the personal reason, but they cannot be separated in reality. If what we necessarily regard as universal truths and laws regulating all thought and power, and thus the basis of the possibility of science, are not eternal in the Supreme Reason, then they are not universal truths and laws, but are subjective and transitory impressions in the sense-intelligence of man, and knowledge is impossible." "Truths do not float loose about the universe, independent of mind."[3] "These truths, therefore, have reality only as they are truths of reason absolute, all-ruling, and everywhere and always the same. Since

[1] P. 9.
[2] P. 11
[3] P. 144.

they are universal principles having objective reality originating in no finite mind, they must be eternally real in a reason that is eternal, absolute and supreme."[1] He even makes space and time evidence of the divine existence, and substantially endorses Dr. Clarke's argument on this point. "There is then, a real significance in Dr. Clarke's *a priori* argument for the existence of God from time and space, but in a way different from that in which he presented it. Space and time have no reality except as forms or constituent elements, eternal and archetypal in the absolute reason, and thus are forms of the existence of finite things."[2]

We are obliged, in a work like the present, to confine our thoughts mainly to the results which the author has reached, and to the fundamental principles from which he starts; but there are topics of which he treats in his thorough survey of man's intellectual and moral powers, which would be of interest, if we could give them space. His fourfold division of our ultimate ideas regulative of thought into the true, the right, the perfect, and the good, in place of the old threefold division into the true, the beautiful, and the good, is indicative of the independence and discrimination which he has brought to his task. Concerning topics to which we have not alluded, it is proper to say, his excellent remarks on virtue, and his criticism of some popular views of the subject, are among the most valuable portions of his work. It is difficult to see, however, why he should be so repelled by the thought of making the

[1] P. 145.
[2] P. 203.

divine will instead of the divine reason the basis of virtue, while he again and again defines that will as energizing reason, and as power rational. His proposition to remove the philosophy of the good from ethics and call it teleological philosophy, is worthy of consideration; but some difficulties can be readily foreseen. Love will generally be considered ethical, not simply because it is right, but because it is promotive of the good. His treatise on the will has some marked features. His idea of moral freedom, not real, not formal, it is somewhat difficult to apprehend; and his view of the power of motives will, by some, be considered not wholly consistent with itself. His replies to the materialistic objections to theism are extended, and indicate a careful study of the subject. They are based ultimately, as would be foreseen, upon the trustworthiness of consciousness. He does not fail to show that the opponents of theism are at war among themselves, and that they are obliged to resort to suppositions inconsistent with materialism.

Are his Views of the Absolute Tenable?

On the fundamental topics of this treatise, it may be said, the conclusions which the author reaches follow very readily from his premises; but there are many, and those the persons whom he specially addresses, who will decline to grant the premises. He seems to give a broader range to consciousness than is generally accorded to it. Man is, as he teaches, conscious of his environment. The term is indefinite, but he seems to include in the

environment things not in contact with the percipient person. He holds that persons other than self are known as such in the immediate apprehension of the ego and the non-ego. One who connects such an idea with consciousness, ought to define the term. It does not seem possible that any one should hold that in vision, for example, consciousness runs along the rays of light to the object from which they are reflected. It is the ear that makes the sound when the air vibrates. One cannot be conscious of a piano or of an orator. No sensation is more vivid than smelling, but one is not conscious of the object from which odors emanate. The hound is not conscious of the fox by simply falling upon its track. If the author means by environment simply the nervous organism, then he does not pass beyond it to the eternal world at all; but this cannot be his meaning.

It is a still greater demand upon those who hesitate to accept a scheme of theism, to require them to assent that the absolute comes within the range of consciousness. We are told by the author that under certain circumstances the absolute comes into view, we see it, but this will be denied. Persons who are ready to admit, that, in some way, we do immediately know the object in sense-intuition, would deny that we positively know as real the object of rational intuition. Indeed, Professor Harris seems to falter here, for he says at times, we know that it must exist, and we know what being is from sense-intuition. The object of rational intuition is then an inference, we know *that* it must be in order to ac-

count for what we see, and we know *what* it must be because it must have qualities of which we have learned from other sources. This seems to fall far short of knowledge by consciousness. Moreover, the author accepts the inference that the absolute must be, from the fact that there must be an absolute cause to give reality to the finite causes with which we are conversant. This is a principle which has long been maintained: that there must be a first cause, if there is a system of causes and effects; but it has not been common to make this first cause an immediate object of knowledge, of consciousness, without reference to finite causes. The author's claim to do it, even after he has found it by the aid of second causes, will not be allowed by his opponents.

The assumption, again, that all laws or norms of thought must have their source in a Supreme Reason, will be held by many to be something to be proved. It will be admitted that such laws are regulative of thought, are laws common to all thinking men, but to assume that therefore they reside in a mind that created the world, will be described by some as a mortal leap. The laws may be accepted as convenient means of communication among scholars, but how does any one know that they are attributes of a primal intellect? We are told it must be so, or there is really no such thing as science; without this principle, science would be mere classification. But, it will be asked, how do we know that science is not classification? It is a very satisfying thought that knowledge is the correlative of being,

but who has ever passed over into that being and found what it is and compared it with our knowledge so as to establish the correspondence? It amounts to nothing to say this must be so, or we do not know anything. The agnostic simply replies, there is no need of knowing anything in your sense of the word *know*. The agnostic knows as much as the gnostic in the conventionalities of life, finds his *suppositions* as useful as the *principles* of the supranaturalist, and is willing to admit that he has no idea of science that still exists when there is no mind to know. Those who do not agree with the author, are not obliged to hold that truth floats about loose. If they teach that laws are generalized observations, they attach them to a mind and give them a logical value, as truly as he does who attaches them to the divine mind, while attaching them to the absolute mind, in order to show that there is such a mind, will be said to be simply a begging of the question.

We can hardly understand why Professor Harris should call his treatise a *basis* of theism. He reaches the conclusion that there is an absolute, which is the independent cause of all things, and this absolute he calls God. He sets out with the avowed intention of proving that the existence of God must be admitted as a known truth—as a condition that any other truth can be known. God is known not only to exist, but to be the Creator, the Being who has impressed on the creation the laws of the true, the right, the perfect, and the good; and these laws, thus realized in his works, are the expression of his own Eternal Reason. Such views as these are surely

the positive doctrines of theism itself. What would be the character of the God who did not possess these attributes, but only stood on them as a foundation? This treatise is not, indeed, a work on natural theology, but it seems to us that the portion relating to theism should be called "An *a priori* argument for the being of God."

CHAPTER II.

REVELATION.

We turn now from the subject of theism to revelation. The work of Professor Ladd on "Sacred Scripture" has made this topic prominent in the theological discussions of the year. The treatise is of itself worthy of attention because of the scholarship manifested in it, because of the thorough and careful attention to details which it exhibits, and because of the force with which the author advocates his own theories. It is still more worthy of attention because it brings before the theological mind of the country a topic long under discussion in the old world, and on which irreconcilable opinions are entertained among thinking men.

The main interest in Professor Ladd's work gathers about the subject of *inspiration*. We shall have this point specially, not exclusively, in view in the remarks we make.

It is difficult to describe in few words the exact position of the author in reference to the Bible. We will attempt to give an outline of it, as briefly as possible, and mostly in his own language. It will prepare the way for a correct idea of his attitude towards the Scriptures, to notice, in the first place, that he renounces the ordinary view of inspiration, — the view hitherto prevalent in our American churches. He not only renounces it, but

considers it utterly untenable and even absurd. The view which he rejects, which he calls the post-Reformation view, he describes as follows:

Post-Reformation Doctrine of Inspiration.

"This dogma made the inspiration of the Bible include, in the case of every book and passage and word and letter, the three following elements: (1.) *impulsus ad scribendum.* This impulse must come as a direct divine command, or in the form of other express allusions, from which we may reason to the existence of such a command. All the canonical books came from God, moving and impelling the sacred writers to their work (Quenstedt). . . . (2.) *Suggestio rerum.* The things which are contained in Sacred Scripture — whether they were previously unknown and incognizable in a natural way to the sacred writers or not, and whether they were derived by the senses or not — were all and singly consigned to letters through infallible divine direction, and were written by special suggestion, inspiration, and dictation of the Holy Ghost (Quenstedt). . . . (3.) *Suggestio verborum.* Not only the substance of truth and all the views proposed in their minutest detail, but even the identical words, all and in particular, were supplied and dictated to the writers by the Holy Ghost (Quenstedt). . . . Errors of any sort whatever, even verbal or grammatical, as well as all inelegancies of style, are to be denied as unworthy of the Divine Spirit who is throughout the primary author of the Bible."[1] Of such a doctrine

[1] II., p. 209.

of inspiration the author says at the beginning of his chapter on the subject: "With the inspiration of the Bible, in the meaning of this term which obtained, almost without dispute, in Protestant theology from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries, we might properly give ourselves no further concern."[1]

Though modern theories on this subject vary considerably from that described above, still the author does not pause to point out the distinction, nor was it worth his while, for his own scheme is not in any way reconcilable with the doctrine as generally held by the Reformed denominations.

The reason which he gives for the rejection of the common doctrine is that it is inconsistent with facts. This he had attempted to establish by a large induction of facts before coming to the special chapter on this point. We give only a few brief statements to show his ground for rejecting the infallibility of the Scriptures. "The comparisons of the Biblical histories with contemporaneous extra-biblical records, either throw great doubt, or utterly disprove, all theories of the verbal or plenary inspiration of these histories. . . . Furthermore, an internal criticism of the histories of the Bible shows that its claim to be Sacred Scripture cannot be made to rest upon its historical infallibility."[2] "But the gospels contain also the complete refutation of the post-Reformation doctrine of infallibility as applied to the historical contents of the Bible. . . . In illustrating the minute verbal or other discrepancies

[1] II., 452. [2] I., 399.

of the Evangelists, we might, for instance, inquire: Whether the wine mingled with myrrh of Mark xv., 23, can be the same as the vinegar mingled with gall of Matt. xxvii., 34; or whether the four forms of the inscription over the cross can be verbally reconciled."[1] He raises similar inquiries about Matt. x., 9, and Mark vi., 8; also Matt. xix., 1-9, and Mark x., 1-12, and other passages. The author remarks again: "The history of Old Testament prophecy shows us unfulfilled predictions. Tyre was not, according to the prophecy of Isa. xxiii., 1, 15, subjected to the Assyrians so as, after lying waste for a long time, to resume its ancient commercial importance. Babylon did not fall into destruction before the attack of Cyrus, as was predicted (Isa. xiii., xiv., etc.) The Egyptians were not led into exile to Babylon as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel threatened. The condition of Jerusalem after the exile never corresponded with the predictions of the prophets. Nor can we escape from these admissions of unfulfilled prophecies by any so-called "theory of perspective," or spiritualizing of the primary and historical meaning of the predictions."[2] "It is, to be sure, abstractly possible that the last redactor of the Pentateuch might have been a specially inspired mind, and that, as being such a mind, he might have so managed all his material, as to confer upon it the quality of his inspiration; but, as a matter of fact, we have no reasons to make any such claims for a redactor. . . . It is not the inspiration of Ezra, or of the scribes of his era, to which

[1] I., 400. [2] I., 443.

we can attribute the moral excellence of the Pentateuch. We have then to regard the Pentateuch as a *growth* rather than a work; but a *growth* may be as truly inspired as a work, although in a different manner and sense. . . . Judged by their contents, some portions of Sacred Scripture put forth no claim to be regarded as the work of inspired minds, beyond that general claim which belongs to every writer, who has his individual share (whatever it may be) in the ideas of revelation, and in the interest of believers touching the things of the divine kingdom. Judged solely by the token of their authorship, many portions of Sacred Scripture have no claim whatever to make; we do not now know, and we shall never know, who or what manner of men their authors were."[1] "Christ did not regard the Old Testament economy of law as free from even moral imperfections and blemishes." Speaking of the Old Testament scriptures, the author says:" He [Christ] does not commit His opinion to their entire historical accuracy, or, even, always prefer the tradition which the Old Testament embraces above other and sometimes conflicting traditions."[2] After speaking of the views of the Old Testament held by Jude and Peter, the author says: "In marked contrast with the view thus far examined stands the view of the Pauline and Johannean writings. In these writings the wide divergence of the new from the old, the relative imperfections and weaknesses of the old, and the vast superiority of the new, are the emphatic considerations. Their

[1] I., 577-579. [2] I., 45. [3] I., 70.

teaching is the more truly distinctive teaching of the New Testament regarding the Old."[1]

This certainly might be called destructive criticism. But the aim of the work before us is not destructive. The author attempts to establish a doctrine of inspiration which shall be defensible, which shall give us a right to call certain Scriptures —much of the Bible—sacred, and which shall afford a full guaranty (not our only guaranty), for adhering to the Christian system. While the author has given much time and energy to the critical portions of his work, he has concentrated his thoughts with still more force upon the constructive portions. He says: "Minor alleged mistakes of memory and information in details of history such as are found in the speech of Stephen, and frequently in the Synoptic Gospels, have no relation to apostolic inspiration. Nor are such claims affected by the recorded errors in judgment regarding his own future made by St. Paul."[2] He says again: "But to stop with this induction would leave us without any complete doctrine, because without the consideration of those truths of history and of ethics and religion in accordance with which the doctrine must be synthetically constructed. Moreover it is these ethico-religious truths and ideas which form the postulates that underlie the induction."[3]

We should naturally turn at once to examine the substitute for inspiration which the author proposes, i. e., the form of inspiration which he considers tenable, but in the sentence last quoted

[1] I., 162. [2] I., 200. [3] I., 20.

he gives an intimation of certain religious truths and principles which lie at the foundation of his theory on this subject. We will therefore first give attention to certain important postulates and truths to which theory must conform.

Postulates in Forming the Doctrine of Sacred Scripture.

The author designates three of the postulates which are the "fundamental truths of Biblical religion" as "worthy of definite announcement."

The reality of a self-revelation of God in "redemption is postulated. This is a postulate which touches every examination of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture at almost every point in its course. . . . . The infallible authority of Jesus Christ upon matters included in the doctrine of salvation is also postulated. This postulate is not . . . . to be understood as necessarily including in itself the claim to infallibility on the part of Christ with respect to merely critical and historic matters. . . . . The reality of those truths which underlie the persistent and universal thoughts and feelings of the Christian consciousness is also postulated."[1] It is to be wished that the author had stated more definitely other postulates which lie at the foundation of his "inquiry," but some of them may be gathered from various parts of his work. He says, concerning the church view of the Bible: "It may be expected that so much of the church doctrine of Sacred Scripture as has been taught with common consent, and with the

[1] I., 21.

highest degree of intention, upon the basis of the largest information, and as being most intimately and organically connected with the system of Christian truth,—it may be expected that so much of the church doctrine of Sacred Scripture will be true."[1] "In order to present the witness of the Holy Spirit to the authority of Sacred Scripture, it must be postulated that both the word of salvation and the work of salvation have entered as facts into human history."[2] Whether the two sentences which follow are included in the postulate, is not wholly clear: "The word of salvation, as it came originally from Christ and the Apostles, has been scripturally fixed, with essential accuracy, in the writings of the New Testament. In this form it remains unchangeable and uncorrupted, as a norm and rule of every word of salvation which may be proclaimed in the name of Christ until the end of time." The following sentiments have the authority of postulates: "The work of salvation has all the authority of a fundamental and organic fact of human experience. For the work is not the individual activity of this or that man; it is the historic action of the Divine Spirit in the development of the consciousness of believers. Our entire doctrine of the authority of the Bible rests upon the postulate that the Biblical religion has a real objective and spiritual ground in the Holy Spirit, to whom mediately its divine elements are due. Our doctrine of the authority of the inner witness rests upon the postulate that the same Spirit now dwells within the believing community, as its teacher and

[1] II., 14. [2] II., 585.

guide."[1] "It may be presumed that they [the Biblical writings] present with substantial accuracy and fulness the picture, in his own person and in his historical preparation and historical setting, of by far the most remarkable and religious character whom the world has ever known."[2] "But surely an institution which has continued so long, has grown so largely in spite of so many obstacles, and has influenced all modern civilization so mightily, as the Christian church, is entitled to the presumption of carrying within itself a certain vital 'soul of truth.'"[3] "The presumption which the church creates in its own behalf is not difficult of transference to the sacred writings of the church. The facts and ideas which constitute the soul of truth that is now alive in the church are the same facts and ideas which constitute the essential contents of the sacred writings."[4]

Professor Ladd thus avails himself of the history of the church and of the present state of church development in gathering materials to construct a doctrine of Sacred Scripture. That the work of salvation is going on through the Word of God imparted by the Holy Spirit, that this word accepted by the church is the same as that written in the Bible, that it is authoritatively expressed by Christ, and as a revelation is the self-revelation of God in redemption, are, in his view, truths not subject to question. They are facts wrought into the existence of the church as truly as a sense of political rights and responsibilities is wrought into the American people. In our inquiry about the Bible, we may attribute to

[1] II., 586. [2] II., 680. [3] II., 682. [4] I. 684.

it what these truths require us to attribute, may not deny to it anything which would bring their reality into question. One way of inquiring into the early institutions of England, its universities, parliament, churches, would be to make a careful study of the elements of its present civilization; so something of the nature and origin of the Bible may be learned by a study of the present state of the church. The postulates which Professor Ladd adopts are the fixed holdings of the church at the present point of its development. He does not discuss the character of the Scriptures as a heathen philosopher would the prophecies of Isaiah at the time of their utterance, but as a Christian man, himself accepting the truths and participating in the blessings of the gospel. "It is the distinguishing characteristic of the best modern critical inquiry into the origin of the Biblical books,—the really 'higher criticism' of the present century,—that it strives to marshal and handle all its forces of criticism according to a genetic idea of human history. The history of revelation is human history; the record of the kingdom of heaven upon the earth is, therefore, a record to be studied in the historico-genetic method."[1]

The Faculty of Receiving and Testing a Revelation.

Another important point in Professor Ladd's treatise is the view he takes of the faculty of man which is to receive and test revelation. This faculty is the ethical consciousness, or the ethico-religious consciousness. The foundation of this faculty

[1] I. 491.

is the natural conscience, yet conscience simply is not competent to apprehend and judge of a revelation. When its ethical tendencies are directed by the Spirit of God so as to become ethico-religious, or when instructed and developed by means of revealed truth, then it is competent to deal with matters of religion. Its own thoughts and principles thus become ethico-religious and may be made, to some extent, the standard and test of other principles claiming to be revealed from God. A few quotations will exhibit the author's position on this subject:

"Man as seen simply from the point of view of the natural sciences, cannot be regarded as the subject of revelation. One of the most mortal foes of Biblical revelation and inspiration is a rationalistic ethics. Thus certain writers on ethics have made the natural conscience the central and sole organ of morals and religion, and have elevated it even when unblesssed by the indwelling of the spirit of revelation, to the position of an independent critic of all possible revelation."[1] "As we have already seen, the Biblical doctrine does not regard man's moral faculties as fitted for exercise in independence of God. Conscience belongs, with its essential nature undestroyed by sin, to the natural man. It may fitly be called the chief remnant of man's spiritual nature. It forms then the point of attachment for every revelation of moral and religious truth. . . . If we use the term conscience in its strictest meaning, as denoting the faculties of cognition when

[1] II. 378.

occupied with ethical ideas and judgments, we necessarily find in it the special organ and seat of the divine activity in revelation. But if we also include under this term those original feelings and impulses which impel man toward the right and away from the wrong, we must find in conscience the special organ and seat of that divine activity which we call inspiration."[1] "It is true that there is no other and higher organ of revelation than the ethico-religious faculty; and that this faculty, when it becomes a true Christian consciousness by the reception of the contents of faith and by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, discerns and tests the Word of God. But the position of this faculty toward the truth of revelation can never be that of an independent critic and judge; much less that of a creator or architect toward his creation or construction. . . . Separated from God and not energized by His spirit, the organ is unused; the ethico-religious faculty of the human spirit exercises its normal functions only upon the condition of the operation within it of the Divine Spirit."[2]

The faculty by which we judge of revelation and the Scriptures is therefore one which judges, not in virtue of native capacity or by inborn principles, but by infused sentiments, by the teachings of the Divine Spirit. By consequence, it cannot reject any real revelation, because the source of its power to judge is the source of the revelation coming under judgment; God cannot contradict Himself, therefore His works in the soul and in His self-dis-

[1] II. 407, 408. [2] II. 528.

closures elsewhere must correspond. The mind has possession of the same truths that appear in the external Word of God, and in virtue of this fact and of the fact that it possesses something of the truths bestowed on the church by its historic development, it is competent to judge of religious truth.

A Bible an Inevitable Result of Revelation.

Our author holds that if there is a revelation there must be a Bible. Whatever errors it may contain, it must still have something to do with God's disclosures of Himself. He says: "It remains impossible, moreover, to conceive how the original divine communication to the individual can take place in an absolutely supernatural fashion. Some account must be taken of the individual characteristics of the person with whom the communication is had. The truth communicated, if it is to be clearly conceived by that person, must somehow take the form of language; for only that to which some form of language can be given is worthy of being spoken of in any true sense of the words, as clearly known."[1] "The necessity of some book-revelation is equivalent to the necessity that revelation shall be scripturally fixed if it is to accomplish the final purpose of revelation. It may almost be said that the necessity of sacred writings like those of the Old and New Testaments is inseparably bound up with the necessity of a revelation which shall be a true historic process of redemption. The revelation which the Bible contains could not have been

[1] II. 528, 529.

what it is if there had been no Bible. The process of making sacred Scriptures which shall serve as vessels or vehicles for the contents of revelation has been, in some measure, a necessary accompaniment of the process of making the revelation itself."[1] "But in the case of all historic revelation, the dependence of the process upon its record is complete. For the very idea of an historic revelation is this: that the men of each succeeding generation shall receive somewhat which they understand to have been made known by God to the men of the preceding generation or generations."[2] . . .

Professor Ladd's View of Inspiration.

We turn now to the theory of inspiration proposed in the place of the discarded post-reformation theory. "The only tenable conception of revelation or inspiration is that of a transaction between persons. . . . . The agent of Biblical inspiration is that one holy and ever-active personal spirit to whom alone all life, and especially all the ethical and spiritual life of redeemed humanity, is to be referred."[3] "The recipient of revelation is always an inspired man."[4] "The inspiration of Biblical revelation will then be just such inspiration as belongs to such a revelation. The agent, the subject, and the final purpose of the revelation will determine what the characteristics of its inspiration shall be. But the agent of Biblical revelation is the personal principle which the Bible reveals to us as the Holy Spirit. The spirit of God reveals God;

[1] II. 314. [2] II. 340. [3] II. 374. [4] II. 453.

and therefore revelation itself is the product of a personal and spiritual agency. It is, on account of its very source, a spiritual energy. It is, moreover, a spiritual energy which operates within the spirit of man—conforming the nature and limits of its operations to the constitution of man's spirit. But if this be so, an inspiration of the human spirit is provided for in the very nature of revelation itself. Revelation cannot complete itself, cannot become a revelation within its recipient unless that recipient be inspired. The intuitions in which we may suppose revelation as a spiritual process to begin, imply an activity of the Divine Spirit in elevating, enlightening and quickening the intuitional powers of man. . . . . As the very necessities of man's clear and connected thinking require, there must be also an inspired activity of the other faculties as dependent upon the faculty of language. The final purpose of Biblical revelation adds further emphasis to a conclusion which follows from the very nature of revelation. This final purpose is to make God known as the Redeemer of man. But God can be made known as a Redeemer only by a process of actual redemption. The realizing of such a process provides, therefore, for a work of ethical elevating and purifying in the spirits of the chosen men of revelation. For God to reveal Himself as Redeemer through organs in which no operation of an actual redemptive process had any part, would be to obscure and to reveal at the same time."[1]

This long quotation presents very clearly the author's ideas, both of inspiration and of revelation.

[1] II. 455.

The thought is substantially that brought before the American people some years ago in Morell's *Philosophy of Religion*. Revelation and inspiration constitute one whole. Revelation is the divine side, and inspiration the human—or, more properly, the divino-human side of the same thing. God discloses the truth to men, and at the same time prepares them to receive it. Revelation without inspiration would be impossible,—inspiration without revelation would be aimless. We need only to add, that inspiration is a gift to the church at large, a continued process and the source of religious life to the people of God, to present adequately the author's view on this subject. "In the new dispensation, as in the old, the true subject of divine revelation and inspiration is primarily the community of believing souls."[1] "Inasmuch as the same Spirit who has spoken that which has become scripturally fixed, and who has ordained the events in history which constitute the process of redemption, constantly operates within the soul of every believer, revelation and inspiration can never cease within the church. Inspiration and revelation must continue in a living process, or that which is past will become dead past,—will become, that is to say, only a claimant for the title of revelation, and not a revelation realized. A Word of God, subjective and sounding within the living consciousness of the body of believers, must testify to the same verities which are recorded in the fixed form of the objective word."[2]

[1] I. 185. [2] II. 523.

The Scriptures, how Sacred.

The view which the author takes of Sacred Scripture is very easily inferred from what has now been presented. God is revealing Himself to men in the work of redemption; the word of Christ is of absolute authority in the work of salvation. Whatever He declares or promises is to be accepted without questioning; the fundamental truths of the Christian consciousness are not to be brought into a moment's doubt; the words of Christ appear in substantially accurate statement in the New Testament. The Christian consciousness of the church has already reached such a stage of development as to verify the truths of the revealed word. On the other hand, a fair and candid criticism shows that the Bible is not always accurate in its historical statements, not always sound in its moral teachings. We must therefore divide the Bible into parts, hold to some of it as the infallible word of God, select some parts as inspired in such ways as human infirmity admits, and concede that some portions of it are not inspired at all. The Apostles enjoyed a high degree of that influence of the Spirit which prepares men to receive a revelation, and were selected because of their fitness for such a work. Much that they communicate may be received as the word of God. Their writings are not, indeed, to be accepted without any test as to their divine authority, as the words of Christ are, but the Christian consciousness may approve some portions of them, and put them beside the words of Christ, to constitute what may properly be called the word of God. Into this class

of writings may fall also some selected passages of the Old Testament, viz., those which Christ accepted as disclosing divine truth. It is to this portion of the Bible that the word *sacred* is to be applied. If "inspired" or "holy" or "sacred" is applied to the Bible as a whole, it is because it contains passages to which these epithets may be applied. Inspiration is of such a character that many writings out of the Bible are of higher authority than much that is in the Bible. The Christian consciousness is now so developed, embodies so many communications through inspiration, that the writings of Christian men may in some instances be entitled to a high regard as authoritative utterances of the Divine Mind. The Old Testament, on the other hand, cannot be a standard of doctrine or conduct for a Christian age. It is only as it looks forward to, and takes hold of, the truths that are presented in the person of Christ, that it can have authority with us. It is only so far as it is by anticipation Christian that the Old Testament can bind the Christian conscience.[1]

Advantages of his View.

Professor Ladd considers that with this view of inspiration, the character of the Bible as inspired stands on an immovable foundation. Every man must accept facts; he must therefore accept the Christian religion so far as it has made for itself a history. Its principles are, to some extent, the contents of the ethico-religious consciousness of men. It has infused itself into, and given character to, the

[1] II. 536.

moral reason of at least the body of *believers*. The power that has effected this result originates in God the Redeemer, and is manifested in its fulness in Christ. The word of Christ is authority in the historical development, and is now to be accepted as such. If these things are admitted, it must be also admitted that parts of the Scriptures correspond with these facts, the truths of the Scriptures are identical with the contents of Christian consciousness, and have been the means by which the Spirit has brought the Christian consciousness to its present state. The parts of the Scriptures thus used, and thus coinciding with the church experience, must be the word of God, and, as the word of God, must be inspired. The conscience of man has of itself no content. It lies unused till God illumines and wakens it. Whatever, therefore, passing through it has found a place in the Scriptures and is there recognized as the word of God, must have entered the mind by the aid of the Divine Spirit; that is, the man must have been inspired. While, as the author thinks, the post-reformation doctrine of inspiration—an inspiration that prompts certain men to write, and guards them against writing errors—can never be proved, and is, as to some portions of the Bible, palpably false, this doctrine is one which cannot be denied; it stands out as a fact to all discerning minds. The true doctrine of inspiration eludes objections, it does not demand a belief in divine interpositions, except in cases that approve themselves to the moral consciousness. Other interpositions cannot be accepted. Even a miracle is to be believed only on the ground of its

ethical value as a work of God. And not only does the true doctrine of inspiration elude objections, it precludes them. It has formed the standard of judgment in the consciousness of the man, and so secures an acquiescence in itself. As the magnetized needle turns to the pole, so the inspiration-informed consciousness has an affinity for inspiration, and must accept it as an undoubted fact.

The author not only considers his doctrine of inspiration the only tenable one, but the one most congenial to our feelings and judgment. It displaces a doctrine which teaches the mechanical control of a few men—the authors of the Bible—a doctrine which requires the believer to suppress his own judgment and accept what at heart he disapproves,—and substitutes for it a doctrine that teaches the reality of a living God and a living church. According to this doctrine, revelation is now going on, and we can believe the past for we see the present; inspiration is still in progress, and must be believed because it is experienced. By this doctrine, the church is one, past, present, and to come. It is a living organization animated by the Divine Spirit, enriched by ever new experiences of the truth, but bound to the past inasmuch as it receives its life, its direction and its impetus from preceding experiences. Such a view of inspiration seems to its advocates to commend itself, and to be sure of acceptance wherever it is properly understood.

Revelation as Related to Salvation.

The theory of inspiration in the work before us depends on the author's philosophy of religion. He says the old theory was wrong in its view of the "conditions of knowing God and of being saved."[1] According to him religion is realized by breaking through the array of second causes that surround us and entering into communion with the First Cause; it is knowing, loving, fearing, obeying the Being with whom one thus enters into communion. It would have been necessary, therefore, that God should reveal Himself in order that *innocent* men should have a religion. Man's soul without God is inert, incompetent to either ethical or religious virtue. But since men are sinners God must be to them a Redeemer if they are to have a religion. They cannot know, love and obey Him until they see Him as the God who reveals Himself as their Saviour. They cannot enjoy His communications so as to make their knowledge a source of spiritual life unless they are brought into harmony with God or know Him revealed within themselves. Religion for sinning men is redemption. Salvation is effected by such a self-revelation of God as is received and appropriated by man. The acceptance and appropriation take place by divine aid, *i. e.*, by inspiration. Revelation and inspiration are therefore constant processes in the church, and indispensable to religious experience.

In entering on a life of religion man puts himself within the sway of the forces developed in and

[1] II. 302.

developing the history of Christianity. In the old dispensation religion was an inheritance, much more in the new. "Every Hebrew prophet was born into the inheritance of those great national religious ideas which we have already found to underlie Mosaism, and to be incorporated into it. To receive and constantly to experience afresh these truths by revelation of Jehovah, is the claim of the religion of Israel."[1] The historic element in *Christianity* is still more obvious. "Such a divine self-revelation must be somewhat more than a communication of knowledge, and somewhat more than any momentary and inorganic exhibition of spiritual force. It must rather be an historic process in which the communication of knowledge concerning God as the Redeemer shall keep pace with the actual communication of His moral and spiritual life in redemption."[2]

It seems to us that some of the elements of this elaborate doctrine of Sacred Scripture are open to criticism:

1. God does not reveal Himself to the world simply as a Redeemer. Those who have studied the proofs of His existence, whether heathen or Christian thinkers, have not known Him in their first apprehension of His being as the Redeeming-God. The thought God is not identical with redeeming God. Professor Ladd begins with the postulate that God is making revelations of Himself in redemption. He fears that he may be charged with reasoning in a circle in making this

[1] I. 116. [2] II. 310.

assumption the foundation of his work. The fear, it seems to us, is well grounded. Who is this God thus making revelations of self? Why did not the author say, the Redeemer is revealing Himself in works of redemption? If God is still revealing Himself and the work is not finished, how is it known that He is a Redeemer? Why not say, an Attempter at redemption is revealing himself in works aimed at redemption? Professor Ladd shows at every step that he has an idea of God in his mind which he has brought with him into his speculations, and which his own system does not furnish him. God is known to men as Creator, Moral Ruler, the Self-existent Source of dependent existences. There is no form of argument in natural theology which ends with the conclusion, therefore there is a Redeemer. If the author says there is no natural theology, all theology is a matter of revelation (a point which we will notice in another place), still he must admit that the unbelieving world has an idea of God, and that for the world the idea of redemption is not that most distinctive of His character, much less identical with that of His being. The author defines religion to be breaking through the incrustation of second causes that surrounds us and laying hold of the First Cause. Here he falls into the most natural idea of Deity, yet one wholly independent of redemption. If we look to any of the primal notions of Deity suggested by modern thinkers, the Being responding to our consciousness of responsibility or to our consciousness of being servants, the Principle that completes the

necessary forms of thought, the Condition of science, the Foundation of righteousness, the End of all utilities, we have in all these instances a notion independent of that of redemption. Indeed the doctrine of redemption is primarily alien to the mind, accepted only of necessity as the result of unwelcome and resisted convictions of sin. To make it the avenue of our earliest knowledge of God is, therefore, to contradict the plainest experience. Moreover, if God is revealing Himself in redemption, there must be redemption from something; from what? Of course it must be from sin, there is no other redemption known to theological thinking; but if from *sin* it must be from conscious sin, for there really is no sin without some knowledge of right and wrong; and if sin is known God must be known, for the sin from which we are to be redeemed is sin against God. God must therefore be known as Ruler and Judge before He is known as Redeemer.

2. It is not the one simple aim of revelation to make God known. The author says the sole object of revelation is God. Redemption is knowing God as revealed. When God communes with men He merely reveals Himself. But this is not in accord with Scripture assertions which Professor Ladd himself accepts. "All Scripture, theopneustic, is also profitable for the ethical purposes of teaching, conviction, correction, discipline in righteousness."[1] All Scripture which is inspired can show nothing but God, is the claim; if we combine this with Paul's idea we shall have the following conclusion:

[1] I. 182.

God revealed in redemption is the Biblical method of discipline in righteousness. One would suppose that the commandments, "Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal," were referred to among the things profitable for instruction in righteousness, but the author says that all revelation is a self-revelation of God, not a revelation of His jealousy or patience or mercy, but of Himself, and that as a Redeemer.

One of the Professor's postulates is, that the words of Christ are to be accepted as of absolute authority. He is infallible in all His utterances. His words, therefore, must set forth God's self-revealing in redemption with special clearness. When we turn to the Sermon on the Mount we may, therefore, expect to see God rising up before us disclosed in all His fulness. But we read, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." "And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men." No doubt an acute mind can see how these and other inspired words are self-revelations of God, and so it can see divine self-disclosures in the earth and sky, in Voltaire or Napoleon; but to say that the sentences of the Sermon on the Mount are pictures of God, or God Himself, is talking aimlessly.

3. Men do not know themselves as sinners, primarily, through an accomplished redemption. According to the teachings of the work before us, man knows God only as God redeems him. The subject

of redemption has received into his soul the historic self-revelations of God and is elevated into an ethico-religious state of consciousness which is salvation. As yet he has been unconscious of being a sinner. After one has been redeemed he can look back and see what he was, and what has been done for him, and thus can know what his moral condition has been, but this he cannot know till redemption has taken place, for there is no moral movement of the conscience till God inspires it, and He can inspire a sinner only by the process of redemption. This is certainly contrary to facts. The sinner under conviction of sin says, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Even after redemption is assured, the subject of it groans, being burdened. The lowest heathen living and dying in their vices are conscious of sins not at all revealed by redemption, but disclosed by an awakened conscience, — whether awakened by the force of nature or by the providences of God. It is not the redeemed alone who know that they are sinners. Sin may appear more heinous to them than to others, but there are those who feel after a redemption which they have not experienced. Not only does redemption not reveal sin, but sin reveals the need of a redemption not heard of, — merely the object of a dim wish.

4. The salvation of men is not by receiving into their bosoms the historic accumulations of God's self-revelations. It is indeed true that Christianity has modified manners, morals, and social customs. We hear of Christian civilization, Christian chari-

ities, Christian warfare, Christian treatment of criminals and unfortunates. But there is no amassed virtue which the child, the young convert, the man of mature reflection, can appropriate, or be made the passive recipient of. Every man must enter the kingdom of God as a little child. Every person passes from the state of entire depravity, if he pass from it at all, into a state of feeble Christian life, — a state that needs careful nourishing and patient culture. The churches of the old world, the historic churches of the Turkish Empire, the decaying churches of Europe, have no amassed merits, no accumulated virtues streaming into the hearts of their members. The Christian sentiments and doctrinal views of Paul were equal to those of Augustine, those of Augustine equal to Calvin's, and his equal to those of Dr. Payson. The author would have done his readers a great favor if he had cut a section across the historic body of Christianity as it now exists and pointed out the increments of each of the last ten centuries, and shown how every new convert comes into possession of the improved system.

5. The distinction between natural theology and revealed theology is a useful one. Professor Ladd's scheme destroys the distinction. He makes all knowledge of God a revelation, — not in the sense in which all knowledge, being an apprehension of truth in the light which God gives, is a revelation, but in the sense that the mind must be inspired by a divine movement upon it, in order to have a knowledge of God. It can only know God in

redemption, and know redemption by being redeemed. The knowledge of God comes by receiving God in the soul. There is no other object of revelation than God, and the faculties that apprehend God do not act till God inspires them. This kind of inspiration is the only inspiration of which we have any knowledge, and lies at the foundation of the word of God in the Scriptures. Our knowledge of the First Cause is attained through religion, by breaking through second causes and taking part with the First.

Such a view is not akin to the sentiments, the religious presuppositions, that pervade the work before us. It is in place for a pantheist, for one who, like Biedermann, rejects the personality of God, to make religion and knowledge go hand in hand with development and the attainment of the primal causal force. Such a thinker can make sin imperfection and identify religion with freedom, and hold regeneration to be an evolution. But these things are not in place for one who holds to the personality of God and the personality of man—both being realized facts before any such intercommunication as that implied in revelation and inspiration. The uninspired man is free and must have some notion of a first cause. He must be competent to understand moral distinctions without necessarily realizing in himself the objects distinguished, he must be able to understand ethico-religious duties that he has never performed. "I know and approve the better and pursue the worse," has long been accepted as a fit confession for humanity. If man

has from nature such powers, he can know something of God's existence and character in the ordinary exercise of his faculties; in other words a natural theology is possible. The natural man may know the supernatural and is competent to receive a revelation which he apprehends by the intellect, which has not, in order to be known, to enter into his experience or be made, in the language of Professor Ladd, a part of the content of his ethico-religious consciousness. If man has such an intellect God *can*, if He chooses, make known to him truths above nature, can make to him promises for the future life, can attest to him the truth of things above his comprehension, and all this without changing the moral character of the man. But if God can only be known as a Redeemer and in redemption, if the communication of knowledge concerning God as the Redeemer must "keep pace with the actual communication of His moral and religious life in redemption," then the redeemed must plod along slowly in their religious knowledge while the unbelieving world must be in pitiable but blameless ignorance. Indeed, the inspiration and revelation contemplated in the work before us is rather a concealment than disclosure of the supernatural. Nothing is revealed which is not passed through the human life of the inspired man; it must, in other words, be made human before it can be received and understood. This process instead of elevating natural theology to revealed, reduces revealed theology to natural, and reduces natural theology from the knowledge of a Being whose

ways are higher than ours to the knowledge of a Being becoming altogether like ourselves.

6. Professor Ladd finds himself compelled to resort to divine interpositions of the same kind with that implied in the ordinary doctrine of inspiration. The ordinary view is, that God exercised such an influence over certain persons as to cause them to prepare the books of the Bible as they existed in the original manuscripts. A very similar influence the author recognizes, but calls it, however, not inspiration but providence. He says: "It is, moreover, a sign of the providential safeguard which was given to the writings of the New Testament in the promises of Jesus, that these writings so largely arose at the right time to receive the fullest fruition of the promises. . . . . The written gospel, the treasure-house of manuscripts, contains, thus divinely secured within it, the coins most clearly marked with the image and superscription of our Lord Himself."[1] He also admits that there were divine commissions and impulses to put on record the divine teachings, but says that these were providential rather than the result of inspiration. He is also a believer in a providence as to words, instead of a verbal inspiration. He says: "The linguistic form of the Bible evinces a providential preparation of two kinds of human speech to become in turn the fitting vehicles for the ideas and spirit of revelation."[2] "We conclude, then, that the influence which the language of the Bible receives from the ideas of revelation is such as to compel us to speak of its

[1] I. 83. [2] I. 624.

books as given in the idiomatic form of Sacred Scripture. The language is the form of the ideas, the ideas are ideas of revelation; the language is, therefore, so far as it is the language of these ideas, a sign and proof of the work of the Holy Spirit. . . . . It may well be, then, that a more immediate influence of the Divine Spirit upon the forms of expression which the individual writers employ be recognized as taking place. The *suggestio verborum* of the old theology is by no means unphilosophical, if the conception be rightly limited and understood."[1] The choice of the words he makes the result of inspiration, the furnishing of the words from which the choice is to be made, providential. There does not seem any reason, however, why an inspiration in the ordinary sense of the term might not secure the right word as surely as inspiration according to his idea. His conviction of a providential care of the records of revelation is as clear as that of any writer on this subject. "We have no hesitation in declaring with Westcott, 'that annals and prophecies and letters thus (apparently) casual in their origin should combine into a whole marvelously complete and symmetrical in its spiritual teaching, is, indeed, a clear intimation of the presence of a controlling power, both in their composition and in their preservation.'"[2] "The history of that process through which the church has obtained its present collection of sacred writings, authorizes us to affirm that the result has been reached by guidance of the Holy Spirit. With the proper lim-

[1] I. 627. [2] I. 630.

itation of the words, we do not hesitate even to say: The Canon of the Old and New Testaments is inspired. . . . . The character of the total instrument of grace is to be ascribed to Providence."[1] Here, it seems, there is recognized a providential inspiration, an inspiration not having as its aim a revelation of God, but a collection of writings. This inspiration is considered, however, as of an inferior kind, "regulative rather than dynamical." "To apply the term 'inspiration' to the normal activity of the mental powers in remembering and recording the facts of history and of experience, is to lower the term, and so to lose from it that specific quality which it has as the subjective condition of Biblical revelation."[2]

Inasmuch as the author is obliged to resort to a providential care of the sacred records as to their language, their composition, their combination into a whole, and their preservation, it would have been well if he had carried a little farther this kind of control by the divine mind, and had left as little as possible to inspiration of the other quality. If he had sought to reduce discrepancies in the Bible narrative, and sought to find a post-Reformation theory of inspiration a little more akin to the dynamical than Quenstedt's, it is possible he might have had less need of that inspiration which is a quickening of the intuitive faculties with the view of enabling them to see God as a Redeemer. He thinks the latter to be of a higher grade, but we confess a preference for that in which God does outright just what He desires to have done. We

[1] I. 683. [2] II. 469.

prefer an authoritative assertion from God to an idea filtered through an infirm, by psychological necessity imperfect, human mind. The latter is, if inspired, often only partially true, and always requires confirmation or criticism by our ethical consciousness.

7. Professor Ladd attempts to furnish the world with a tenable doctrine of Sacred Scripture, having first shown, as he supposes, that the old doctrine is untenable. But he can hardly suppose that the world of unbelievers will accept his theory in preference to some previous presentations of the Christian evidences. His premises being granted, his conclusions are indeed inevitable, but they will be granted only by those who already accept Christianity, and who, according to the author's view, need no evidence but that which they carry in themselves. The author assumes the position of the church, argues from its doctrines as he understands them, and ends with the conclusion that is involved in the very position of the church as he interprets it. But if he carries his doctrine out to the world for its acceptance,—a work which preachers and missionaries are engaged in,—it is easy to see what reception he will meet. He assumes the absolute authority of Christ's words on all matters of salvation. But who Christ is, and what are the grounds of His authority, are questions with which he has nothing to do. He can hardly expect that Christ's name will act like a talisman, will secure assent by magic. Christ did not expect to be so

received. He said: "Believe me for the work's sake." "The works which I do, bear witness of me."

The author also assumes the reality of the truths that underlie the Christian consciousness. This he cannot expect those to grant who have no Christian consciousness. He assumes also that God is making self-revelations in redemption, but those who have no knowledge of sin or of the need of redemption or of God, cannot be expected to assent intelligently to this supposition. Then he assumes that all knowledge of truth relating to redemption comes by inspiration and is only known in redemption. He cannot, therefore, suppose that those not redeemed can know at all what these truths are. Inspiration is the ground of the division of men into two classes—the inspired and the uninspired. These two classes live in different worlds and can have no communication with each other on matters involving inspiration. The inspired know of themselves, they need no array of proofs concerning Christianity, the uninspired cannot know, they have not the ethico-religious consciousness with which to judge, and therefore evidences of Christianity are to them but words in an unknown tongue.

The author's system is, we grant, if valid, tenable for the church, so far as it has a distinct Christian experience, but it is not a working system, one which can be enforced upon the world. If we could hold to a mechanical method of propagating the gospel we could make use of the scheme of truth

here presented to fortify Christians against the assaults of infidelity; but we need a more aggressive scheme than this, if men are to be saved by preaching.

Frank, in his *System of Christian Certitude*, proceeds upon the assumption that the seed of the new birth is planted in baptism and that conversion—a turning towards, a responding to the forces introduced in the new birth, may take place long afterwards. Though he admits that the Christian has no ground of certitude till conversion occurs, still he looks to a method of propagating the gospel other than that of commending its truth.[1] But unless we can hold to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration we need, certainly we desire, a scheme of Christian doctrine which will commend itself to *every* man's conscience in the sight of God.

The work before us and others of a similar character, are based on a religion-philosophy rather than on a scheme of revealed truth. It is assumed that God is perfecting the human race by infusing, more and more, the knowledge of Himself into it. This is the leaven which is to leaven the mass of meal. The progress of mankind towards the realization of its ideal can at any time be ascertained if the amount of divine knowledge and the consequent amount of religious experience, which have been infused and developed, can be measured. All God's manifestations are an aid towards the elevation of the race, but the one great step of supreme importance was the incarnation. Through this fact we

[1] See *System der Christlichen Gewissheit.* I. 95–103.

have communion with God, and He free access to us. There is a tendency, therefore, to make Him the centre of religious thought. The idea of Christo-centric schemes of theology has had a fascination for some minds that apparently were not fully aware of the import of such schemes. The attempt is to begin theology with the Incarnate One, without inquiring why He became incarnate. The results of such a scheme should be considered before it is adopted. It at once changes the scheme of grace into philosophy, makes incarnation and redemption items in a historical development, not known in their causes, but known as facts occurring in nature. Hence the character of man is lost from view, sin is essentially overlooked, God's character carries with it, in its idea, the idea of redemption, and from redemption sin is inferred. This scheme, therefore, very much narrows our views of God. His essential Being, His attributes, His works of creation and providence, are only reached through redemption. And redemption as a manifestation of mercy, a scheme revealing the counsels of Deity in view of sin for which He holds man guilty—such a redemption is really obliterated from theology. Natural theology and revealed theology are merged into one. It is a question worthy of serious consideration, whether such a scheme shall be adopted. Shall we organize our knowledge of God into a Christo-centric system? It is really a contradiction in terms to say Christo-centric. Christ is the Anointed, the heir of David, the head of a Kingdom set up in time, typified by a previons kingdom;

the word *Christo* should therefore be exchanged for another. Ought our theology to be Filio-centric, should we begin with the Son in our knowledge of divine things? There is no objection to holding that we should, in this age, begin our *study* of theology with the Son, because He declares God, but the thing declared is ultimate, and if the Son's office is to teach of God then God is the primal object of thought and the source of truth. If we accept the Son as God and all that is known of God, if Redeemer is the synonym of God, then we identify deism with redemption; identify it with Christianity. In doing this do we elevate deism to a level with Christianity, or sink Christianity, filio-theology, to deism? There is no doubt that making the incarnate Son the centre of the system brings God into more intimate relations with men than the cold English deism of the seventeenth century did, but it adds no new element to our religious life or religious faith. Redemption and Christianity become empty words, and deism,—hardly more *truthful* than that of the seventeenth century,—becomes our religion.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

CURRENT PREACHING:

Its Matter, Manner, Tendencies and Conditions of Power.

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PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

HOMILETICS.

INTRODUCTION.

Our age is characterized by the abundance of its Homiletic literature. Probably more treatises on Homiletics have come from the press within a score of years, than came during the three previous ones. Homiletic journals abound. Articles on the pulpit frequently appear in religious and secular periodicals. Volumes of sermons find ready sale. Even the daily newspapers are crowded with the weekly utterances of the pulpit. Never was the pulpit attracting more general attention among us than it is to-day. Its utterances from week to week go to form the largest part of the literature of preaching. The object of this essay is to analyze this current preaching with the view of noting its materials, forms, tendencies, and conditions of power. Reference is mainly had to the utterances of the evangelical pulpit of England and America.

CURRENT PREACHING.

I. ITS MATTER.

As "style is the man himself," so current preaching is the pulpit itself. It is the pulpit of to-day speaking forth its deepest convictions on the varied themes of religion and morals. Its utterances are only so many delineations of what it is. Let us view it in its offspring made after its own likeness, looking first at the material used.

Biblical rather than Doctrinal.

A prominent characteristic of the preaching of to-day is, that it is rather Biblical than doctrinal. It has to do not so much with a system of doctrines, as with the record that contains them. To become convinced that a great change in this respect has taken place in the literature of the pulpit within the present century, one has only to contrast the preaching of fifty or seventy-five years ago with that of to-day. The sermons of Dr. Emmons would be as much out of fashion in our pulpits, as the clothes he wore. Among the most popular preachers of our time, both in England and America, are those whose preaching may be described as distinctively Biblical rather than doctrinal. Such, for example, are Dr. Joseph Parker, Dr. Alexander Maclaren, and Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, of England, and Dr. William M. Taylor, Dr. John Hall,

and Rev. Phillips Brooks, of this country. It needs but a glance through the many volumes of their sermons to become impressed with this fact. They discourse to us on Biblical history, characters, parables, sayings of our Lord, and truths which center in Him, but make no attempt to formulate what they say into a doctrinal system. Their sermons, it would seem, fairly represent, in this respect, current preaching.

Christological rather than Theological.

Another characteristic of the preaching of our time is, that it is rather Christological than theological. It discusses not so much the numerous and widely varied themes of theology, as those which have to do with the man Christ Jesus. The mission of the Son of God into our world, the life He lived, the words He spake, His death, resurrection, and ascension, His perfect manhood as a model for imitation, — these are among the chief themes dwelt upon by the pulpit of to-day. In this respect the three volumes of sermons, entitled, *The Inner Life of Christ*,[1] by Dr. Joseph Parker, which have recently come from the press, would seem fairly to represent in some of its best aspects, the preaching of this age. The Rev. Phillips Brooks and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, also, in their published discourses, have given fine examples of this prominent characteristic of current preaching.

[1] *The Inner Life of Christ, as Revealed in the Gospel of Matthew:* Vol. I., *These Sayings of Mine;* Vol. II., *Servant of All;* Vol. III., *Things Concerning Himself.* New York, 1883.

Ethical.

A third characteristic of the preaching of this age is the prominence of its ethical quality. It largely concerns itself with morals. It has much to say of the relations of man to man, and of the duties growing out of these relations. It is largely occupied with making a practical application of the second table of the Law. It delights in the general Epistle of James, and "deems nothing that concerns humanity foreign to itself." It is discussing more and more the ethical and social problems of the day, — the causes and removal of crime, the relief of suffering, the reciprocal obligations of labor and capital, of citizen and government, and a thousand questions which have to do with organized society. In this respect it is in marked contrast with the prevailing type of preaching a century ago, which, while far from being indifferent to man's earthly relations, gave especial prominence to the discussions of his relations to God.

Not Minatory.

A fourth characteristic of the preaching of the present day is, that it is not minatory. It seeks to attain its ends rather by the "sweet reasonableness" of what it presents, than by arguments drawn from the sad results of unforgiven sin, in a future life. Indeed, it would seem that it has little to say of retribution in another world, while it has much to say of retribution in this. It rarely discusses the subject of future punishment. A sermon like that of President Edwards, on *Sinners in the hands of*

an angry God, would be an anomaly in the pulpit of to-day. As to the causes which have led to the so general avoidance of this topic, we are not now concerned, but the fact, we take it, must be admitted.

Abounds in Material.

A fifth characteristic of current preaching is its abundance of material. It not only makes use of the inexhaustible riches of God's Word, but also appropriates more and more the affluent material gathered from His works. It goes out into all the earth in quest of suitable material, with which to illustrate and enforce divine truth. The arts and sciences in their remarkable development within the present century are its servitors. It avails itself of the rich results of Biblical researches and explorations. It shows careful study of man in his mental and moral constitution, and in his daily life. In short, it ranges throughout the whole domain of the divine Word and works to gather the material suitable for its purpose. In this respect the preaching of to-day is in striking contrast with that of the last century, which, while it disclosed careful study and good knowledge of God's Word, did not, and could not exhibit any such wealth of material gathered from the natural sciences, and from Biblical researches.

II. ITS MANNER.

Having noticed some of the prominent qualities of the preaching of our time, as regards its matter, let us now note certain of its characteristics in manner.

Literary.

It would seem that a manifest quality of current preaching is its literary character. In its higher forms it abounds in evidences of ripe culture. It is permeated with literature. It discloses wide reading in literature and science. It shows acquaintance with the latest issues of the press in fiction and poetry. In short, it often comes to the people in the garb of the schools, in robes fragrant of classic groves. And it not infrequently addresses them in the style of the schools. It often speaks to them in unfamiliar language. It sometimes employs terms and figures which seem to them strange. Its finished style of presenting truth to them, often makes it less impressive. But while this would characterize a type of preaching not unknown among us, it should be said that the pulpit of our day is generally adapting its learning and its style to the needs of the hearers.

Expository rather than Dogmatic.

A second characteristic of the form of current preaching is, that it is expository rather than dogmatic. It would set forth Biblical truths rather by exposition than by assertion. It is expounding the Scriptures rather than dogmatizing upon them. This method, while a return to a primitive form of preaching, is in marked contrast with the prevailing form of the pulpit discourse of the last century. The press gave to us, a few years ago, a fine example of this manner of preaching, in the Rev. F. W. Robertson's *Expository Lectures on St. Paul's*

Epistles to the Corinthians, and recently it put into our hands, Dr. Joseph Parker's three volumes above named, containing expository or descriptive discourses on the Gospel of Matthew, and later still, another volume by the same author, entitled *Apostolic Life*, in which he follows a similar method of treatment in discoursing on the Acts of the Apostles.

Dr. William M. Taylor has also given us in his volumes entitled *Daniel the Beloved*, *David King of Israel*, *Peter the Apostle*, *Elijah the Prophet*, *Moses the Lawgiver*, *and Paul the Missionary*, fine examples of the expository and biographical methods of preaching. Several eminent preachers, as, for example, Dr. Henry M. Scudder, Dr. Joseph T. Duryea, and Dr. John Hall, often make use of this method with great success.

Illustrative rather than Argumentative.

A third prominent characteristic of the present form of preaching is, that it is rather illustrative than argumentative. It uses the rhetorical method rather than the logical. It seeks to impress divine truth upon the mind and heart, not so much by formal argumentation, as by means of figures, comparisons, and examples from history, and from life. While it seldom uses the syllogism, it abounds in illustration. It finds a vast storehouse of illustrations in the Bible itself. Biblical histories, characters, parables and the like, are all its servitors. It ranges also throughout the vast domains of nature, of art, of science, and of human life, for the best means by which to make divine truth lumi-

nous, attractive, and impressive. Indeed, so striking is this quality in current preaching, that one has only to compare in this respect any volume of sermons issuing from the press, with a volume of sermons published a century or a half century ago, to be impressed with the contrast. The sermons of such preachers as Dr. Thomas Guthrie, Dr. Alexander Maclaren, Dr. William M. Taylor, and Rev. Phillips Brooks, are, in this quality, in marked contrast with the discourses of President Edwards, President Dwight, and Dr. Emmons.

General in Application rather than Individual.

A fourth quality somewhat prominent in the form of the pulpit discourses of to-day is, that the application of the truth presented is rather general than individual. Not infrequently the sermon inclines more to the form of an essay—which ends in a judgment—than to that of an oration—which ends in an act. Often it seems to content itself with setting forth the truth in a vivid and interesting manner, without urging it as a personal matter upon the heart and the conscience. Certainly current preaching cannot be justly characterized as pungent. It seems to shrink from saying, "*Thou art the man.*" It appears to recoil from wielding the terrors of the law. It discourses rather of "righteousness and temperance," than of "the judgment to come," and often seems satisfied with portraying to the hearers in general, the joys of the Christian life. In this respect, also, it is manifest that a great change has taken place in preaching, within the present century.

As to the causes which have wrought this change we are not now inquiring, but as to the fact, there would seem to be no question.

Informal.

A fifth characteristic in the manner of current preaching is its informality of structure. It is not stiffly formal. It is wedded to no uniform treatment of subjects. Its manner of presenting the truth is flexible, varied, and independent. In this respect it is well nigh at the opposite extreme of the scholastic method of two centuries ago, which was largely run in the same mold. Indeed, it admits of question whether not a little of the preaching of to-day does not lose in power by the absence of a clearly defined treatment of themes. In the effort to avoid rigid formality, some preachers seem to have fallen into an immethodical and lawless development of subjects. They appear to dread evident divisions in a sermon, as a mad dog dreads water. Their preaching is well nigh "without form and void." It is largely structureless, and so largely powerless. For organization is power. Without doubt, much o this dislike of an evident plan in preaching is traceable to a reaction from the excessive formality in the preaching of the last century. But it is an open question, to say the least, whether more is not lost than gained by going to the opposite extreme.

III. ITS TENDENCIES.

Having looked at the matter and manner of current preaching, let us now view two or three of its manifest tendencies.

Away from Eschatology.

A somewhat prominent tendency of the preaching of our time is, that it is drifting away from eschatology. On the doctrine of the last things, especially the judgment, and the eternal rewards and punishments that follow, it seems to have less and less to say. Not a few evangelical preachers are almost or quite silent on the doctrine of future retribution, and the evangelical pulpit in general seems to be growing more and more reticent on this subject. To be impressed with the great change that has come over the pulpit in this respect, one needs only to compare almost any volume of sermons published a half century or more ago, with any volume of discourses coming from the press to-day. Among the causes assigned for this change, the two most common seem to be skepticism in the pew, and skepticism in the pulpit. Doubt, or positive disbelief of the doctrine of eternal punishment, it is said, has become so prevalent among the people who fill the pews of the churches, as to cause preachers to throw this doctrine quite into the background, or to ignore it altogether. And, then, it is alleged, the ministry itself has become so generally permeated with similar doubts, as greatly to increase its unwillingness to discourse upon this theme. But whatever may be the causes, there would seem to be no question as to the fact. From pulpits regarded as the most evangelical, one seldom hears arguments and motives drawn from the doctrine of the eternity of future puishment. If accepted by both pulpit and pew, it rarely appears in the sermon.

Toward the Children.

But while the present tendency of preaching would seem to be away from eschatology, it is evidently toward the children. The unusual interest which has of late been taken by all the churches in the instruction of children and youth in the Sunday school, is clearly showing itself in the utterances of the pulpit. The pastor of a century ago, while often catechising the children of his flock, rarely preached to them. They were, indeed, obliged to go to church, and sit still, while their parents were fed on the "solid food" of doctrine, but rarely was anything given to them, and they were sent away hungry. In this respect, a manifest change is taking place in preaching. Children are now thought to have rights which the pulpit is bound to respect. Sermons to children are frequently heard from our pulpits, and many of the younger men in the ministry are practicing this kind of preaching in one form or another, with great success. The numerous volumes on preaching to children, which have come from the press within two or three years, indicate the growing interest taken in this subject.[1] Whether it is best to preach a sermon of five or ten minutes each Sabbath wholly to children, or once a month,

[1] Of these volumes may be named:
Thirty Sermons to Boys and Girls, by J. G. Merrill, Chicago, 1879.
Bible Children, by James Wells, New York, 1880.
Talks to Boys and Girls about Jesus, by W. F. Crafts, New York, 1881.
The Children and the Church, by F. E. Clark, Boston, 1882.
The Conversion of Children, by E. P. Hammond, New York, 1882.
Lamps and Paths, by T. T. Munger, Boston, 1884.

or every three months, or only once a year, or — as practiced and recommended by some of our most successful preachers — to introduce into the sermon each week "a bit of anecdote or illustration, that will suit the child-mind," and so promote in children the habit of attending throughout to what is said,[1] is a question which must be decided by every pastor for himself. But as to the prime importance of a preacher attracting and fashioning the children and youth of his congregation by his pulpit ministrations, there can be no question. It is a fact most auspicious for the cause of Christ, that the children — who are said to form at least a third part of the audiences in the churches — are coming more and more under the molding power of the pulpit.

IV. ITS CONDITIONS OF POWER.

Thus far we have glanced at the materials, the forms, and the tendencies of the preaching of to-day; let us now look at the conditions of its power.

I. AS REGARDS THE PREACHER.

In the large sense of the term, preaching may be said to include the preacher himself, as well as the sermon, and the delivery. For into all preaching that deserves the name, the personality of the preacher enters as a most important element. Only as he infuses his own personality into his sermon, or rather only as he makes the truth which he utters so pass through his own mental and spiritual being

[1] Dr. John Hall's *God's Word Through Preaching*, pp. 180-1.

as to become saturated with himself, can what he says be truly termed preaching. Hence, what a preacher is, largely determines the character of his preaching. Let us, then, analyze a little the man behind the sermon to see of what elements he must be composed in order that his preaching may have power.

Good Sense.

First of all, he must have good sense. Unless he have good common sense, it is all over with him so far as permanent power in the pulpit is concerned, for nothing can take the place of good mother-wit in a preacher. He may have all other qualities essential to a good preacher, but if they do not rest on the solid foundation of good sense, they might as well not exist. On this point it is needless to enlarge. And yet, it is to be feared that instances are not unknown in which unwise partiality of friends, or undue self-estimation, has put into our pulpits young men so destitute of robust sense as both to paralyze their preaching and to distract churches.

Good Ability.

Next to good sense in a preacher, as a prime element of power in the pulpit, we would put good ability. Good mental endowments—not necessarily the best—would seem to be requisite for sustained power in the pulpit. The themes on which a preacher must chiefly dwell from year to year are such as to require for their mastery and proper presentation, good mental capacity. Certainly no

young man should be urged, or encouraged to enter the ministry, who does not possess a good intellect. While he need not be a mental giant, he must not be a dolt.

The author of the essay on *The Decay of Modern Preaching*[1]—which he seems largely to take for granted—says that "of the direct causes there is none more serious than want of ability in our preachers," and he adds, referring "primarily to the church which I desire loyally to serve,"[2] "that our preachers, as a body, are below even the average in intellect." In proof, he makes the following remarkable statement. "I remember very well—indeed painfully well—a class of divinity students which I instructed in the Epistles to the Romans, and after laboring a whole term with all possible care, and making them go over the argument, and write it out, and rehearse it, they confessed to me in a body at the end of the term that they had made no advance in it whatever, for that *none of them was able to follow an argument*".[3] (The italics are his.) We confess to some doubt whether this fact reflects more upon those theological students than upon their instructor. Certain it is, that no such statement could be justly made respecting any class of students in our American theological seminaries. They are, as a body, not a whit inferior in intellect to the young men who throng into the legal and medical professions.

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[1] *The Decay of Modern Preaching*, an Essay by J. P. Mahaffy, New York, 1882.

[2] § 3, § 16. [3] § 16.

The author of the essay above named, in insisting on high intellectual ability as a prime condition of success in preaching,[1] seems not to be aware that he is arguing against the ordering of Divine Providence. For God has made comparatively few men of superior intellect, and hence, if the masses of the people are to have the gospel preached to them, they must hear it chiefly from men of ordinary mental endowments. And such from the first, have been largely the men who have been successful in preaching the gospel. Among the Apostles themselves, there were apparently men of only ordinary intellectual capacity, and such have generally been the ministers of the gospel all through the ages of the church till now. While, therefore, the rarest abilities will find full scope for their exercise in the pulpit, young men of only fair mental capacity, provided they have other essential qualities, need not shrink from entering the ministry. The young preacher of only average ability, who will address himself manfully to his work, using all the helps that God gives him, will succeed.

Good Culture.

Next to good sense and good ability, a preacher should ordinarily have good culture, in order to be a power in the pulpit. First of all, he should have such thorough mental training as to give him control of all his mental faculties, and such general culture as to give him possession of whatever is best in classic and current literature. And, then, he

[1] § 16, § 46.

should be well instructed in the contents of the Book whose doctrines and precepts he is to set forth through a lifetime to the people. He should traverse the vast domain of theology in all its parts, that he may know what he is set to teach, and be a consistent expounder of divine truth. Especially should he have thorough Homiletical training. On this point the author of the essay above named well says: "The sort of training here meant is this, that the Professor should not only announce a subject and require written exercises on it, but himself correct them, and show how the subject ought to have been treated, giving specimens of his own wherewith the students may compare their less perfect essays. He should also point out to them those simpler arts in composition which many of us only learn by continual failures, and which many fail to appreciate all their lives. This suggestion and criticism of the lines of treatment which a subject admits, is a vital part of the training of a preacher, which has hitherto been strangely neglected."[1] The preacher should also have an intelligent knowledge of the sciences, especially of those which have to do with the interpretation of Scripture. In short, he should have the best training which our collegiate and theological schools can give. For never were the intellectual demands upon the pulpit greater than they are to-day. Never had the masses generally as much intelligence as they have now. Books on all subjects, periodic literature of every grade, and newspapers steaming from the press, are in the

[1] *The Decay of Modern Preaching*, § 48.

hands of the people. They are thinking on the questions in government, in ethics, in science, in religion, which are agitating the nations. And the pulpit that would attract, hold, and mold them, must be abreast of the times in knowledge and culture. Nor is there anything in such culture itself to isolate either a preacher or his preaching from the people. If such withdrawal shall take place, it will be the result not so much of the culture of the intellect, as of the want of culture of the heart.

Deep Piety.

We name, then, deep piety as essential to a preacher's permanent power in the pulpit. For, as we have seen, the preacher's personality must largely enter into all effective preaching. He is not only to proclaim the truth of God, but also to bear witness to its transforming and purifying effect upon himself. He is to be, to some good degree, an embodiment of what he preaches. But if he has had, at best, little experience of the truths which he teaches, how can he be much better than "sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal"? Besides, he needs fervent piety, both to keep him true to his great mission, and to sustain him in it. What but ardent loyalty to Christ, and compassionate love to men can adequately incite him to his high calling, and sustain him there amidst difficulties and trials such as pertain to no other profession? Without such motives taking possession of him, and girding him up to the full exercise of all his powers as an ambassador of Christ, he may indeed preach the gospel, but it will

be largely a gospel without power. And, then, only as a preacher becomes a receptacle of the Holy Spirit does his preaching become a power with men. For he is both the agent that God uses to proclaim His truth, and the channel through which His Spirit impresses it upon the heart. Hence, the more open and unobstructed the channel, the more powerful will be the preaching. And facts abundantly confirm the conclusion to which we have come. In the earliest history of the Christian church, the power of Barnabas as a preacher, is attributed to the fact that "he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith," and so "much people was added unto the Lord." As far as relates to preaching, this single sentence is a condensed history of the whole church. In every age of the church, the men who wielded the most power in the pulpit, were the men who had in greatest measure the Holy Spirit. They were not always the preachers of the greatest intellect or culture, but they were always those most filled with the Divine Spirit. Our own time has witnessed remarkable examples of this fact. Although Payson, and Nettleton, and Kirk, and Finney, and Moody, differed widely in intellectual ability, yet they all alike had great power in the pulpit, because they all alike were "full of the Holy Ghost and of faith."

But here we are met with the strange objection, that if deep piety be essential to much power in the pulpit, then the large majority of preachers must be content with a low degree of success, since in the nature of things they cannot be expected to be very

pious! Says the author of the essay to which reference has been made: "Piety—a great and effective, though not all sufficing condition—can, unfortunately, not be secured in any large class. We may even predict that it will remain always the privilege of the few. Intellect, in the higher sense, is not to be secured, for the same reason."[1] While this must be a very consoling theory to worldlings in the pulpit, it seems to us not only baseless, but in its influence most injurious. Let the conviction become general among young preachers, that fervent piety is to "remain always the privilege of the few," and that their want of it is rather a low spiritual condition to be regretted and contentedly submitted to, than a sin to be repented of and forsaken, and our churches will soon have a powerless and fruitless ministry. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon those who enter our pulpits, that if they are to have power with men—if a divine virtue is to go forth from them to attract the people, and lead them to Christ, and to high spiritual attainments—they must themselves "abide in the secret place of the Most High," and must come forth to deliver their message with hearts all aglow with loyalty to Christ, and with compassionate love to those for whom He died. They will thus need no "material inducements" of "high place and influence to reward their toil,"[1] for it will be their "meat to do the will of Him that sent them, and to accomplish His work." Nor will it be necessary for them—as the author of the essay quoted from maintains[2]—to

[1] *The Decay of Modern Preaching*, § 46. [2] § 50.

deprive themselves of the delights of home and the discipline which comes from the discharge of family duties and obligations, that by this isolated loneliness they may become more effective preachers. As if the more a man represses and lacerates his social instincts, the more of a preacher he becomes! No, we want no more anchorites coming forth from desert caves, or monks from solitary cells, in order to preach with power. We want in our pulpits men well rounded and developed in every part of their manhood, men who live among their fellow-men in closest relationship and sympathies, and who can therefore speak to them out of their own experience. Such men, with good sense, good ability, good culture, and deep piety, will preach with power. The people will come to hear them and will be made better by their preaching.

2. AS REGARDS THE SERMON.

Having seen what the preacher himself should be in order to be powerful in the pulpit, let us now look at the chief qualities which the sermon should possess.

Mainly Biblical.

First of all, the material of which it is composed should be mainly Biblical. For it is only the Word of God which is instinct with divine power to renovate, mold and save mankind. Is is only the Word of God which "is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword," and which the preacher must wield if he is to do much execution. If he

preach largely the words of man, discoursing much of art, science, and literature, he may indeed be very entertaining, but he will be well nigh powerless. For the Holy Spirit will continue to do His gracious work mainly through the truth which He moved holy men of old to speak and write, and which is "able to make wise unto salvation." "Sanctify them," said our Saviour in His prayer for His disciples, "Sanctify them in the truth, Thy Word is truth." Hence powerful preaching must be mainly Biblical preaching.

Largely Doctrinal.

It must also be largely doctrinal preaching—must give preëminence to what are distinctively termed Biblical doctrines. Although "man is to live"—to attain to a robust and symmetrical life—"by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," yet there are some parts of the inspired Word which have to do chiefly with the center of his being, and his individual relation to God, while other parts deal mainly with his outward life. Now it must be evident that the truths striking at the center of the man, and laying hold on the springs of his activity, will move him more deeply and powerfully than those which chiefly expend themselves on the surface. The former were designed to make the man right at heart, to purify the fountain so that its pure streams should need only to be rightly directed; the latter to open to them appropriate channels in which to flow. These two parts of the divine Word are, therefore, the complements of each other, each

essential in order to fashion the "perfect man in Christ Jesus," and the pulpit which fails to present either, must be comparatively powerless; yet the one must ever be held subordinate to the other. For the great work of the pulpit, as a divine instrumentality, is to convert and save men, and hence it must chiefly wield those forces through which the Holy Spirit moves to produce this result. It must dwell on the great themes of the gospel, which have their center and significance in the atonement, bringing the man to stand in the presence of these fearful and humbling truths, and pouring down the light upon him until he shall see his lost condition, and be led to cast himself on the sovereign mercy of God in Jesus Christ. It must hold high above everything else, these great doctrines of human guilt and ruin in contrast with Divine holiness, justice and grace through Christ, so that the man at every turn shall behold them and feel their power. This is the kind of preaching which, rightly conducted, will prove effective the world over, for it lays hold on the mightiest forces of God's Word, and applies them to the center of the man. It molds him from within outward, revolutionizing, first of all, the government of his being, and enthroning a power which sends forth its benign influence throughout the whole sphere of his activity. Such preaching, too, will extend its power slowly but surely over the people. It will tend to this result both directly and indirectly. And, first, it will raise up about itself an army of men renovated by the grace of God, and loyal to him in heart and life, to go forth as its aids,

to throw over others the divine power of which they themselves have been the recipients. Thus the pulpit will multiply its influence indefinitely, sending it through all classes of society, and causing all to feel its power.

And such preaching will also act directly to produce this result. Men will be attracted by it, and will move toward it, for it appeals to that in them which is deepest,—the consciousness of their needs. They will respect and honor a pulpit that deals thus fearlessly and honestly with them, and though they may, at times, take offense at its course, yet they will generally put themselves under its power. And, on the other hand, the pulpit which greatly fails to wield these mightiest forces of the gospel, which throws them into the background, must, to the extent of such failure, become impotent. For it touches human life mainly at its surface, and does not descend to move it from its depths. It attempts to reform man mainly by ethical precepts, rather than by aiming at once to renovate the center and source of character and conduct. It must, therefore, of necessity, be greatly ineffective. It may for a time cause a change in conduct, but having no roots in the heart, it will wither and die. And such preaching will have little power over the masses. They may, indeed, flock to hear it, and be delighted with eloquent essays on ethics, but they will either soon desert it as a thing destitute of life and power, or continue to resort to it as a source of intellectual gratification.

Such, in brief, must, from their nature, be the effect of the two types of preaching delineated. And it would be easy to show that facts abundantly confirm this theory. The most effective preachers of the gospel in all ages have been eminently doctrinal preachers. They have ever been the men whose ministry has not only been instrumental in producing the largest number of vigorous and symmetrical Christians, but has extended its power most widely and permanently over the surrounding community. Examples might be cited at pleasure. And it were equally easy to show by facts, that to the extent to which the pulpit has retired from the discussion of the central themes of the gospel, it has become feeble with the people. A theology, however unimpeachable, has not saved it from this fate. Says a writer in the *North British Review*, on *Modern Preaching:* "If you are, indeed, to move the world from its foundations, it can only be by means of a fulcrum beyond the world, and where is that fulcrum to be found, if not in that old doctrine of sin and grace, of man's ruin and God's redemption, which, from the Pentecostal day till now, has been the source of whatever has been strong, whatever has been holy in the faith and life of the Church? Let that doctrine indeed be declared, not in man's way, but in God's; let it be uttered, not as a dry dogma, but as a living faith; let it not be a mere theological tradition, but the ever-new conviction and belief of the heart, the personal message and 'burden' of the man himself, and not of any other man or any other age, — still, in any case, it

must be a message, and a message from God. What men call doctrine may be dead doctrine or living doctrine; it may be abstract scholastic doctrine, or concrete Bible doctrine; it may be doctrine that bristles in definitions, or that gushes from the heart, but there must be doctrine."[1]

It would seem all the more important that attention should be now turned to this point from the the present tendency to overlook it. It is evident that the preaching of our day has, in this particular, departed widely, and — if our theory be correct — unfortunately, from that of our fathers. And it is easy to see how this change has been brought about. It can be traced to the tendency of the human mind to go from one extreme to the other. The people had been surfeited with doctrine served to them not always in the most attractive form, or with reference to their condition, until the palled appetite demanded a change. In this endeavor to satisfy the popular taste, it is questionable whether the pulpit is not now near the other extreme.

Intensely Practical.

It should also be added that preaching to be very effective, should be intensely practical. It should have to do with the whole man in all his activities. It should apply the doctrines and precepts of Scripture not only to the renovation of the man himself throughout every part of his being, but should also carry them down all along the lines of his activities, to apply the rule and plummet of God's Word to

[1] *North British Review*, Vol. XXXVIII.

him in all his relations to his fellow-men. In short, it should be like the sun sending its piercing rays down into every nook and corner of the little world of his daily life, and flooding all with its radiance.

Logically Consistent.

Passing, now, from the material of effective preaching to its form, we notice, first, that it should be logically consistent. A sermon to be full of power, should be full of logic. It must not only have a beginning, a middle, and an end, but these must also be consistent with each other, and must together form a logical unity. A mob of thoughts, however noisy, will be as powerless in a sermon, as a mob of men in battle. With a given quality of the thoughts, the better they are marshaled, the more execution they will do. Yet they need not be thrust into stiff logical forms, but, like the human frame, be gracefully robed. Since reference has already been made to this topic, we need not dwell upon it.

Largely Illustrative.

Preaching, to be very effective, should also be largely illustrative. It should set forth the truth through the affluent forms with which it is robed in Scripture, and by the various and striking analogies in nature. The preacher whose heart is set on becoming "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth," and setting it forth with power, will, if wise, study and copy the forms in which holy men of old who were

moved by the Holy Spirit, set forth divine truth. He will make sacred history, biography, parable, and figure his servitors to render the truth more attractive and powerful. And he will be an earnest student of nature in all her forms and modes, that he may draw from her rich stores appropriate and abundant illustrations in which to array the truth. He will, too, closely study man in his mental and moral constitution, in the world of art, science, and literature which he has made for himself, and in all his business and social relations, that from them all he may gather materials by which to make divine truth more vivid, attractive, and impressive.

Popular in Style.

And then, it should be added, that preaching, to be effective with the people, must be popular in style. It must speak to the people in their own tongue, must use the language of the heart, of the home, and of daily life. For preaching to have power, must address the heart as well as the intellect. But the heart has its own language, and will not respond, if addressed in any other. The adage is as true now as when uttered by the Roman poet, "If you wish me to to weep, you must first weep yourself."[1] But the language of the heart is always simple and emotional. The Anglo-Saxon element of our language is the part of it best adapted to the people. It is their daily speech, as familiar to them as their

[1] "*Si vis me flere, dolendum est*"
"*Primum ipsi tibi.*"
—*Ars Poetica*, 102.

homes and friends, and when the pulpit mainly addresses them in this speech, they give ready ear. But if it largely make use of literary language, and discourse to them in bookish style, they will be but little affected by thoughts which come to them in so unfamiliar a garb. Facts sustain this position. The preachers who have had greatest sway over the people, have used their speech. Such were Luther, and Knox, Whitefield, Wesley, and Finney. Such are Spurgeon, and Moody to-day. It is, perhaps, in this respect, fortunate for Mr. Moody, that he knows but one language, and that he has learned this not so much from schools and books, as from the common people in their daily life. Hence, he speaks to them in their own language, and uses words, phrases, figures, and forms of expression which, though somewhat trying, at times, to the ear of a scholar, go with power to the hearts of the people. It is a good omen for the future efficiency of the pulpit, that our preachers in general are making more and more use of Anglo-Saxon speech, so well adapted to the miscellaneous character of their audiences.

3. AS REGARDS THE DELIVERY.

But an important part of preaching remains yet to be considered. The preacher may have all the qualities described, and the sermon be well nigh faultless, yet if the delivery be very imperfect, it will in no small degree injure the effectiveness of the preaching.

Generally without Manuscript.

While manifestly there can be no one form of pulpit delivery equally suited to all preachers, we think that, in general, preaching without manuscript will, if sufficient care be taken, be found to be the most effective. It is the natural way of speaking to the people. Addressing them through a manuscript is something like talking to a crowd in the street through the glass in your parlor window. And, then, full notes so trammel a preacher, that he cannot have freest use of his eyes, arms, and other parts of his body to give most forcible expression to what he says. Besides, audiences like to have those who speak to them look them in the eyes, and they will not long look at a preacher who persists in keeping his eyes upon paper. There have, indeed, been close readers in the pulpit, who have had great power with the people. Such a man as Chalmers, with his great brain and heart all aglow with the message he brings to the people, will have them throng around him, and hang on his words, though he speak to them through a manuscript. But such instances would seem to be rather the exception than the rule. True, a preacher who uses full notes may gain such command of them as to obviate some of the disadvantages of this method, but he cannot be as free in his delivery, as if he spoke without them. Nor would the memoriter method, though the one most highly recommended by some of our ablest preachers,[1] appear, on the whole, to be the best.

[1] Dr. W. M. Taylor's *Ministry of the Word*, p. 150.

The labor it requires and the artificial tones it fosters are chief among many objections against it. The preaching without notes—or very brief ones—after fullest preparation made either by writing the sermon in full, or by gaining mastery of the thought carefully adjusted in a plan, is the method recommended and practiced by such able and successful preachers as Maclaren, Parker, and Spurgeon, in England, and Storrs, Hall, Beecher, and Scudder, among us. It is also strongly recommended by most of the latest writers on Homiletics, and is coming into considerable use among the younger men in the ministry. This method requires, indeed, for its mastery and successful use, most thorough discipline of all one's powers, and utmost industry in making immediate preparation for the pulpit, but we think that no young man of average ability, if willing to put himself to such training and industry, need fear failure in practising this method. But if he preach without notes, he ought to continue for years to write sermons with the utmost care, for both mental discipline, and accurate and forcible expression. It might be well for him, for some years after entering the ministry, to deliver one sermon each Sunday from a manuscript—of which he shall become master,—and another from a carefully prepared plan, wholly without notes. But let him ever aim at what was evidently the primitive method of preaching; and especially, both as respects matter and manner, let him copy after Him who spoke as "never man spake."

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

PRESENT CHURCH WORK.

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PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

In this country, the term "Practical Theology" applies to the work of a pastor, both within and outside of the pulpit. In Germany, on the contrary, it refers rather to church polity and the administration of ecclesiastical law. By "Pastoral Theology," the Germans understand the duties of the pastor in preaching, conducting public worship, instructing the children of the congregation, caring for souls, and co-operating with the office-bearers in the general management of the church.[1] "Catechetics" is taken in Germany and Holland as covering the whole field of instruction by question and answer, whether in the creed, in the Scriptures at large, in church history, or in the entire scope of the Christian life.

Under Pastoral Theology, among our churches, is classed the entire work of the pastor, except Homiletics, or the service in the pulpit. It covers, in the Chicago Theological Seminary, twenty-nine lectures, which deal with the minister's personal life

[1] *Studien und Kritiken*, 1852, 1, S. 467, 473.
Van Oosterzee, Trans. by Evans, pp. 449, 450.
To the former term a more comprehensive definition is given by Dr. Pelt, of Kiel. "I define Practical Theology as the science of the self-edification of the church, accomplished through its appointed guides [organs] as these are led by the Holy Spirit." *Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, 1, S. 31.

and habits, with his relations to the officers of the church, to the flock at large, to the children, to other ministers and churches, to the community, etc. The present object is not, of course, to attempt to traverse so great a field, but only to offer some suggestions as to more recent methods.

THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THE PASTOR.

The pastor, as a man, must stand behind his work. He must be, first of all, a man of God, possessed, uplifted, energized by the indwelling Christ and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He must be no narrow specialist in doctrine or life, but large-hearted, well-rounded, open-handed in sympathy toward all good men of whatever school or communion. Especially must he be a man of administrative ability, with deep, keen insight into human nature, with skill to find a work for every worker, carrying authority without dictation, with an eye on every phase of the life of the church, of quick adaptation to drop a failing method and turn to new expedients, with personal force to infuse new life into loiterers and weaklings, with dignity yet child-like freshness of heart, cautious yet courageous and aggressive, patient, persistent, with unconquerable faith in God.

IMPROVEMENTS MAINLY PRACTICAL.

The recent literature of this department of ministerial service is both in quantity small and in quality poor. One is forced to acknowledge that its two chief elements are hypothesis and exhortation. Of

practical suggestion as to measures, and ways and means of reaching ends, the share is small.

But, by "actions, which speak louder than words," important contributions have been made to our facilities and methods of church work. The march of modern improvement is nowhere more conspicuous than in the new advantages it offers in the conduct of parochial affairs.

THE CHURCH EDIFICE.

1. We notice the construction of the house of worship. Down to within the memory of the last generation, the sanctuary was a combination of as many elements of cheerlessness as could well be brought together. The square pew, turning the faces of a portion of the audience away from the pulpit, the hard board seat, with upright and uneasy support for the back, the shadeless windows, with their scorching heat in summer and the intense cold in winter, all contributed to the sum of discomfort. The assignment of seats according to supposed social rank, among the Puritans of the Bay—(though never known among the Pilgrims of Plymouth)—must have added, with its cold formality, another chill to that inflicted by the laws of nature. But in the modern sanctuary, the transformation is complete. The amphitheatric structure, with seats in concentric circles, and every eye in the audience looking along a radius to the preacher, the pulpit lowered and thrown open, fit symbol of more intimate and genial relations between pastor and flock, the new methods of warmth

and ventilation, all unite in cordial welcome to the house of God.

Even for those compassed with infirmities, a kindly provision is made. Before the advent of the telephone, a sound-conductor, opening with a large orifice in the pulpit and passing down beneath the floor along the aisles to the seats of the partially deaf, was already to be found in many a sanctuary;[1] and now, through the more perfect instrument, not a few auditors, confined in sick rooms at the distance of miles from the sanctuary, on every Sabbath listen to the service. For still others, the invalid's room is provided under the roof of the church itself. This is an apartment, within a small annex to the building, closely adjacent to, and having a window looking down upon, the pulpit. With a separate entrance for his convenience, and with such furniture and other facilities as serve his comfort, an invalid may, in this seclusion, be free from all constraint, and listen to so much of the service as his strength will allow, coming and going at his pleasure.

For the social gatherings of the congregation, church parlors and a kitchen, unknown to the fathers, are becoming as indispensable as a pulpit, while various embellishments, in engraving and in color, on which a Puritan would have frowned as a dangerous toying with the Scarlet Woman of Rome, are beginning to appear on the walls. And the amount of ingenious contrivance devoted to apartments, to furniture, and to various appliances, for the Sabbath

[1] Still, or until recently, used in the Clinton-Ave. Congregational Church, Brooklyn, in the Mercer-Street Church, Dr. Deems, pastor, New York, and others.

School, indicates the affectionate Christian solicitude that watches over the children of the church.

It may be noted, finally, that the sound of the "church-going bell" is becoming an echo dying into silence. Our newer Protestant sanctuaries, especially in the cities, are altogether discarding the monitor of the iron tongue. The reason is twofold; partly the annoyance of the sound to adjacent residents, partly the heavy expense of the construction of spires. The immense reduction, by machinery, of the cost of watches, withal, has left the church-bell, which was once indispensable, almost a superfluity.

THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLE.

2. A second element which is infusing itself into the church life of our time is the social principle. This is one of those immense moral powers that formerly were rarely taken into account. The hard, bare ecclesiasticism of the fathers looked coldly on any agency for good beyond the direct impact of Divine authority on the human will. Of a thousand subordinate, gentle influences that may incline the will toward that authority, they took little note. When these had been perverted to the service of evil, they frowned on them as suspicious, and discarded them as enemies' weapons. The Christian policy of our day is broader. It would expand the church life, as nearly as may be, over every legitimate requisite of our common nature. The social instinct it recognizes as innate, ineradicable, and doubtless destined to survive forever. If, in regard

to it, "the sons of this world are, for their own generation, wiser than the sons of light," our churches are discovering the fact and drawing from it a lesson.

The mid-week meeting for conference and prayer, with its familiar interchange of Christian thought and affection, strongly unifies the life of the church membership. The social gathering, introduced mainly within the period of a generation, has this object more directly in view. It avails itself of a mŏre varied range of attractions than was formerly allowed within church precincts. There is, in some quarters, room for caution as to this matter. Sunday school excursions, which often include the entire congregation, are part of the general tendency of the time.

These features of the local church are holding it in intimate and influential relations with the community surrounding. So far from losing hold upon the world without, as is often asserted, it never had, probably, a wider or more beneficent impression than to-day.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR CHRIST.

3. The growing power of woman for good is a third and growing element in our parochial life. This well-worn theme still affords room for a fuller appreciation of the possibilities involved.

The finest heathen civilization that the world has ever seen did little for the elevation of woman. Whoever has studied the Greek and Roman statuary which has survived to our time, will have noticed that, while the female form is rendered

in almost ideal perfection, into the countenance is thrown hardly a trace of either moral or intellectual life. Witness the contrast between the faces of the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de Medici. The Greek woman was either a slave or a toy.[1] Confined to the gynæconitis, or apartments allotted to her in the home, she was forbidden by imperious social law to appear in public. After the defeat of Cheronæa, the Athenian matrons and maidens, though trembling with anxiety to get the intelligence, dared venture only to the doors of their dwellings. If strangers were present, no wife could eat at the same table with her husband.

Except within her own immediate circle, it was inadmissible even to recognize her existence. The education of girls was in only the lowest elements of learning. In a perfectly wonderful race of men, at Athens, not a single native woman ever arrived at distinction. Aspasia was born at Miletus; and other women of her class were adventurers in the intellectual metropolis of the world.

With a higher appreciation of the sex in Rome, there is no evidence of much progress toward a thorough female culture. Nor, yet, along the centuries, does the emergence from obscurity of an exceptional woman, a Sappho, a Hypatia, a Heloise, indicate more than that a few rose to a height at which to catch the dawning light of a better future. Even to-day, in no other land, perhaps, than our own, have women a position in which to do their best work for the church or the world.

[1] Excursus in Becker's *Charikles*, on the social condition of woman in Greece, *passim*.

But the progress of female education in the United States, within the last quarter of a century, has been phenomenal. In the public high schools our daughters are coming to outnumber our sons. The boy, as he rises above the primary studies, is seized with ambition for a mercantile success, while the girl still quietly advances in the path of knowledge.

But far beyond the high school is the Christian college for young women. Especially is this true in the East, where coëducation is not yet adopted. Such institutions as Wellesley and Vassar and Smith are slowly but steadily advancing to the grade of a university. The pressure for admission beyond their accommodations, with the competition involved, is inevitably raising their standards of scholarship. And as the female membership of our churches is at least seventy per cent. of the whole, so the proportion of Christian young women graduating from our colleges is far beyond that of Christian young men.

The question, to what work for Christ shall this immense and increasing amount of cultivated talent be directed? is pressing for a more adequate reply. No response thus far made begins to answer the demand of our time. In secular life, educated women are entering almost every sphere. They are succeeding in occupations hitherto supposed beyond their reach. Conventional restraints are breaking down. The question of ability to achieve is becoming the test of propriety.

Whereunto this will grow it is impossible to anticipate. That there are lines which it ought not to pass seems clear. But in the social gatherings of the churches for Christian communion the voice of woman is now often heard. In almost every form of parochial beneficence she is at work. Her inventive genius is incessantly contributing new methods of Christian instruction, training and relief.

In some churches the order of deaconesses has been revived from the apostolic age.[1] Why it should not become universal it is difficult to see. Since women are a majority of the membership, why should they not be represented among the office bearers? Many offices of sympathy and relief, especially to those of their own sex, they can render far better than their brethren. If there was a call for them in the first century in the East, much more, with their larger intelligence and higher social position, in America to-day.

It is possible, too, that the Protestant sisterhoods of trained nurses, which, since the introduction of them by Pastor Fliedner at Kaiserswerth, in 1836, have accomplished so beneficent a Christian

[1] Though the word deaconess is not found in Scripture, there is doubtless reference to the office in Rom., xvi. 1. Incumbents of it seem to have done for their own sex what the deacons did for theirs. Rom., xvi. 2, shows, however, that their service was not confined to the sisterhood. Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, speaks of them as *ancillae quae ministrae dicebantur.* Their duties were the care of the poor and sick, the instruction of catechumens and assistance at their baptism, and a general oversight over the female membership of the church. The office was abrogated by the Council of Orange, A. D. 441, and gradually ceased from the Western Church. *Coleman's Ancient Christianity Exemplified,* 171–173.

work in Europe, might, to advantage, be adopted among us. Any apprehension of a Romanizing tendency in them appears groundless. Of the thousands of devout women in their membership in Europe, as was stated at the Kaiserswerth conference in 1869, not one had ever become a convert to Rome. They take no vow of perpetual seclusion from the world, or of the surrender of natural ties. Their work is strictly a labor of love. No emolument whatever does any member of the sisterhood receive. Part of their service being that of informing the rich, in each locality, of the poor in their neighborhood, they draw the two classes into mutual sympathy. And the wider diffusion of wealth in this country than in Europe leaves our Christian country women at leisure for such service.

There are some who fear the effect of beneficent enterprise on the softness and fineness of woman's nature. But fastidious seclusion would increase the danger it would aim to avoid. If repetition, and so newly established routine, shall render natural and easy whatever is inherently right, it will develop no boldness because requiring no courage. A Turkish woman, to-day, could not appear with unveiled face in public without a perilous degree of assurance. The refinement and delicacy of our wives and daughters suffer nothing from that practice. And other conventional restraints will doubtless in time be surmounted, without harm to the best elements of character and feeling in their nature.

THE PRESS.

4. A fourth instrumentality which is entering into our church work is the Press. Among the fathers, long after the invention of printing, the cost of paper, type, and printers' labor was virtually prohibitory upon many uses to which they are now applied.[1] The issue of the sermons of prominent preachers in pamphlet form, once a rare occurrence, is now in many instances weekly maintained. Reports of church and Sabbath school work are spread in print through the congregation. By a sort of periodical bulletin, or pastoral address, many a minister informs and stimulates his flock. Leaflets containing the Sunday school lesson, with comments, and pictorial, religious, juvenile papers, are a great aid in training the children of the church. Sunday school libraries are acquiring greater range and variety of reading.

Whether these might not profitably be dispensed with, is a question occasionally raised. In Wales, where the Sunday school is successfully sustained, they are almost unknown. All thought is concentrated upon the Word of God. But among us, with the eagerness of our youth for fresh information and entertainment, the library is indispensable. Especially in rural communities with little other literature, it becomes not only a Christian teacher, but a rich source of general intelligence and cultiva-

[1] Writing-paper, also, was so expensive, and the meager salaries of pastors, paid partially in kind, allowed so little money for the purchase of it, that often the sermons of a century ago were written on a few pages of coarse paper, six by four inches in size, in so fine a hand as to require a magnifying glass in the delivery.

tion. Few persons who have had no occasion to acquaint themselves with the matter, are aware how immense and valuable a juvenile literature has, within the last decade, come into existence. The prejudice against the Sunday school library book, as a farrago of sentimental fiction, is losing its foundation. History, biography, travel, natural history and other sciences, all are brought, more or less directly, into the service of religion, and all contribute to the upbuilding of high and intelligent character.

The mode of supply of the library is advantageously changing. The method has been to make, at long intervals, a considerable addition. The careful examination of so many volumes, on short notice, was impossible. A medley, often with objectionable mixtures, went upon the shelves. Moreover, as no subsequent purchases were soon attempted, the library shortly came to be regarded as by-gone and exhausted. The improved mode is to purchase (always of one dealer, with contract for the lowest rates) only a few volumes at a time. The books may thus be thoroughly examined, the additions be frequently made, and a constant stream of fresh literature, flowing into the collection, save it from suspicion of staleness or meagerness.*

The secular press is contributing to our church-work, also, through the ubiquitous zeal of reporters. In the increasing space allotted in the columns of these journals to every phase of religious interests and affairs we have a refutation of the claim that the church is losing her hold on the world. The

reports of sermons, often including at least one presented verbatim each Monday morning, the reproduction of addresses at Christian anniversaries and conventions, the items of ecclesiastical news, the discussion, editorially, of salient questions of doctrine or polity, all enhance the influence of the churches, and aid their work.[1] The increasing recognition of the chief anniversaries of the Christian year, Christmas and Easter, is periodically bringing the churches, through the secular press, more prominently before the public.

The religious journalism of the day, also, is an auxiliary that few pastors fully appreciate. The weekly Christian newspaper is, to many a household, their only window opening towards the general Christian civilization of our times. It holds them, at least partially, abreast of the best thought and endeavor of the age. It awakens an intelligent sympathy with any beneficent enterprise, that promptly responds to appeals from the pulpit.

THE CHILDREN OF THE CONGREGATION.

5. A fifth and signally important feature of our church work is that among the children of the congregation. The former policy was much as if a farmer were to leave the colt untamed and attempt to bring the full grown horse into training and service. "Heaven," says Wordsworth, "lies about us in our infancy." "As the smaller planets are nearest the

[1] It was observed that two of our Christian weeklies, in the Interior and in the East, which were supposed to have exclusive possession, for first publication, of the new Congregational creed and confession, were anticipated by the adroitness of two secular journals.

sun," says another, "so are little children often nearest the Lord." Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist church has said, "I believe the day is coming when * * we shall look chiefly to the conversion of children, and, as comparatively a rare instance, to the conversion of those in maturer years." That pastor who has not learned that the children of his flock are the promising part of it, and who is not appropriating his time and strength accordingly, has a great discovery yet to make.[1]

The systematic, Christian training of children, was introduced at the Reformation.[2] Among the old Cathari some traces remained from the catechumenical instruction of the first Christian centuries. The Roman Catholic church had almost nothing of the sort. The Waldenses were so true to this duty that among them "scarcely a child was unable to give an account of his belief." The Romish Church has been forced to the partial education of her children as a defensive measure against Protestant aggression.

Van Oosterzee[3] urges the graded method of Catechetics for children of various ages—a method so self-evidently indispensable as to be generally adopted, in one form or another, in the United States.[4]

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[1] In the twenty-three years previous to 1870, there were more than 500,000 conversions in the Sunday schools of the Methodist church in the United States—a number as large as the increase of church members in that church in the same period.

[2] Van Oosterzee, p. 456.

[3] P. 471.

[4] It is illustrative of the extent to which polemics is carried on the continent, in the instruction of the young, that, according

Several defects in the Sabbath school system call for the careful consideration of the churches.

(*a.*) The training of children by wholesale, so to speak, with one lesson dealt out indiscriminately to all, fails to reach individual want. Augustine's saying *Eadem caritas, non eadem medicina, omnibus* is ignored in so large an assembly of pupils. While the distribution of the school in classes tends to abate this fault, the uniform International Lessons may increase it. Only a mother can thoroughly individualize and understand a child. The best remedy for the inevitable defect in a teacher is that he acquaint himself with both the outer and the inner life of each member of his class, that he visit him separately at home from time to time, and that, in the instruction on the Sabbath, he bear in mind his past and present condition, and mental and moral peculiarities.

(*b.*) Another evil is the incompetency of teachers. The tendency of those least qualified is to occupy the class with the mere frame-work of the lesson, with sacred geography, history, antiquities, rather than with spiritual truths and personal applications.

Objection has, with reason, been made to the very name of the institution, Sunday *school*. The special object of Robert Raikes, its original projector, from whom comes the name, was the instruction of vagrant children in the elements of a secular education. This title seems to imply a predominance of mere intellectual training; and it inclines

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to Van Oosterzee, a Bible with the proof-texts (*loca probantia*) against Romanism printed in large type, should be accounted important.

youth who have passed beyond the school-age to cease their attendance. A "Bible Service," in which the entire congregation should resolve itself into a committee of the whole, for the study of Scripture, would better represent the legitimate aim.

An analogy runs closely between the teacher of a class and a preacher to a congregation. The latter brings into a sermon whatever explanatory matter may be needed. But he counts such matter as preliminary and subordinate. He enlightens the mind that he may reach the heart. He hastens on to such lines of thought and appeal as will edify the souls of his hearers. So should it be with a Sunday school teacher. So will it be, when teachers well qualified shall have been found or trained. For that purpose an effective teachers' meeting is indispensable. The practical difficulty in the way of such a meeting is that those most in need of it fail to appreciate its value. At whatever cost, by whatever means, though it should be, at first, a social gathering with a collation, the teachers should be induced to attend. The pastor having, if possible, charge of such a meeting in the study of the lesson, may not only interpret the lesson, but furnish hints and illustrations for the application of it to the scholars.

(*c.*) But a third evil, already incidentally mentioned, is the disposition of children to regard the Sunday school as their church, to neglect the public worship, and so, as they emerge into youth, to fall out of all Christian associations. The school thus

becomes rather a rival than a nursery to the church. A wise pastor will enlist the superintendent, the teachers and parents to throw their influence against this tendency. He will occasionally address the school in regard to it. But, especially, he will render the public service attractive and useful to the children. This, since the service must also be kept acceptable to adults, is no easy task.

Various methods are adopted.[1] One is the "Children's Church," so called, occurring perhaps monthly, and devoted to the little ones exclusively. The advantage of this is its freedom from restraint on the preacher in the use of blackboard, maps, various object-lessons, and in the facility with which the children, by question and answer, and by responsive reading and song, can share in the service. But, of course, it makes no provision for the weekly attendance, on the worship, of the younger members of the congregation. It may, like the Sunday school, become a rival to that. The question remains, how shall the children be drawn, every Sabbath, into the house of God?

One eminent pastor gathers those of them in his own school, whose parents worship nowhere, into the galleries of his church, attended by their respective teachers. Each child is provided with a small note-book for taking and reporting to the teacher, the next Sabbath, the text and heads of the sermon. Others introduce an application to the children about eight minutes long, of the subject in hand,

[1] A most suggestive and admirable little manual is that by Rev. A. S. Cheseborough, of Durham, Ct. *Children Trained for Discipleship.*

immediately after announcement of the text. Still others, while endeavoring to throw enough animation and illustration into the whole discourse to hold the attention of young hearers, from time to time, in the service, address something directly to them.

The excuse from this feature of a pastor's work, that it requires a peculiar talent to interest children, is rather specious than sound. While to some it is more difficult than to others, and in the case of any requires careful preparation, earnestness, practice and love for the children will render it possible to all.

INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS.

There is no little criticism of the International System of Sunday school lessons. That system is charged, and justly, with too great inflexibility. It allows, for example, no place for Christmas, Easter, or any other anniversary of the Christian year. Dr. J. M. Whiton, in the *New Englander* for March, 1884, complains of the views taken in many lesson-notes, of the selection and rejection of Saul as king of Israel, with subjects adjacent. Some of the lessons appear too long and others unwisely chosen. But with all abatements, the system as a whole has proved so serviceable that it is not likely to be abandoned. Before the adoption of it, as every school had a separate lesson, the religious press could offer no aid to the teacher. Now, however, every religious journal, and not a few secular ones, have interpretations and other helps of every description. Special commentaries on the lessons are annually

issued. The amount of light thus thrown on the Scriptures is immense and ever increasing.

Want of space prevents more than a mention of the open-air services in the summer, introduced by the Young Men's Christian Associations, but now conducted often under church auspices. The mission schools in our cities, which, as rapidly as possible, are developed into churches, are most wisely adopted somewhat as a substitute for the older system of tract distribution. Permanent institutions rather than sporadic and transient seed-sowing, are, under God, the true reliance for the evangelization of great communities.

SUPPLY OF VACANT PULPITS.

The annoyances and evils of our practice of candidating for the pastorate, are in many churches avoided by a method which might well be adopted in all. A large committee representing the different shades of opinion, taste and culture in the congregation, is appointed by the church. They carefully inform themselves as to the character, the ability and the record of some person suggested, then hear him in another pulpit than their own, and finally, if able to do so unanimously, present him as their selection to the church. Meanwhile, no one is invited into the pulpit who could possibly be considered as a candidate. By this method are avoided two serious dangers; that of dividing the church by a variety of applicants, and that of allowing an objectionable man to win premature favor by his attractiveness as a preacher.

CONCLUSION.

The relative importance of the work done by both clergy and laity, outside of the pulpit, is more and more rapidly increasing with every year. But a few generations since, sermons were almost the only public addresses on Christian themes. Almost the only helps for the interpretation of Scripture were those orally given by the preacher. But to-day the immense rise and spread of general intelligence, the growing influence of woman, the Sunday school work, amply aided as it is by the best Biblical scholarship of the age,—all are bringing up the sum-total of such church work as supplements the preacher's public service to an importance never imagined by the fathers. And the signs of the times point to a still larger development in the same direction.

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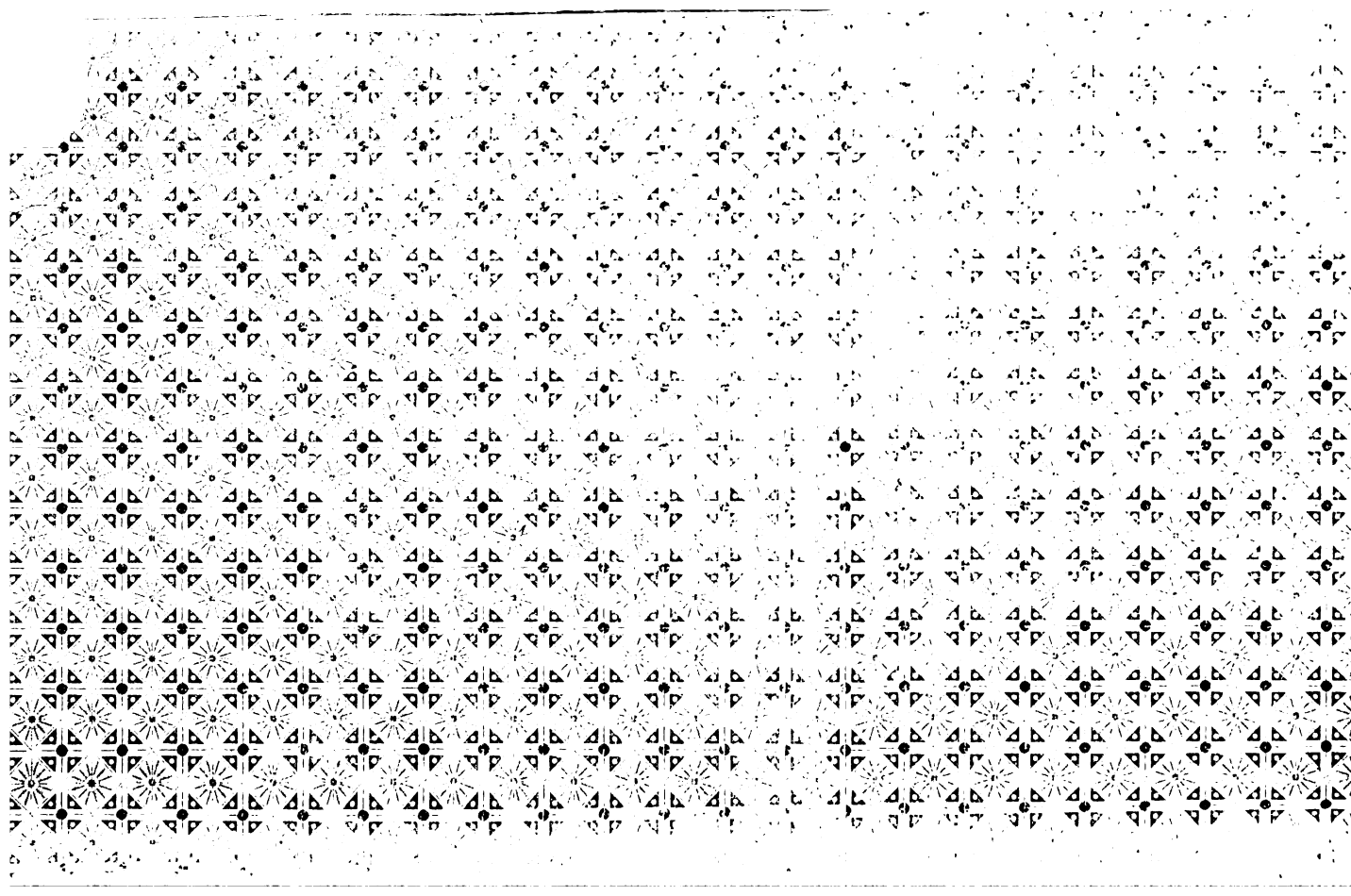

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